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THE GAINSBOROUGH PORTRAIT OF DAVID GARRICK WITH HIS ARM AROUND THE BUST OF SHAKESPEARE WAS DESTROYED ON DECEMBER 5, 1946, BY A FIRE THAT DAMAGED THE UPPER PART OF THE STRATFORD-ON-AVON TOWN HALL.

ON THE DESTRUCTION BY FIRE OF GAINSBOROUGH'S PORTRAIT OF DAVID GARRICK

By David Leslie Robin Guthrie

Now shall we deeply mourn the world's great loss
In fire by night on Avon's peaceful banks;
And to old woes must add the extra cross
Of one more beauty torn from thinning ranks.
Genius—the love of it—consumed in flames!
What matter? Still survives our Hollywood,
The witch-pot mother of more famous names
Than Shakespeare's, swear men by the Holy Rood!
Dear Voice of England, know that some still live
By the immortal memory of thy line;
That they, till darkness steals their souls, shall give
All praise and gratitude before your shrine.
Blest poet, on our knees—Thank God for thee!
Beauty's sweet tutor for Eternity.

PROFESSOR C. F. TUCKER BROOKE

The Scholar as Artist

By Ernest Brennecke, Jr.

THE amateur Shakespearean commentator, eager to win his spurs with fresh discoveries on a continent of literature already rather thoroughly explored, is sometimes tempted to forsake common sense and to come forward with something fantastic, but plausible on paper if not in the theatre. For instance, it would be childishly easy for him to develop the thesis that the really sympathetic character in *Hamlet* was not intended by Shakespeare to be the sullen, cruel, and murderous Prince, but rather the long-suffering, popular, and pious King Claudius. I should not be astonished if this manifest absurdity has not already been committed.* Such aberrations do not surprise us when they are offered by small and hungry wits, nor when they come from the lunatic fringes of pseudo-criticism. But what are we to say when they spring from one of the very fountainheads of Elizabethan learning and wisdom?

The question may be worth pursuing, and some answers may be suggested by a reading of the recently published Shakespearean essays by the late Professor Tucker Brooke,[1] who was for many years a solid ornament of American scholarship, and whose loss we all deplore. His books on Marlowe,[2] on the Tudor drama,[3] and on Shakespeare himself,[4] as well as his critical editions of the Apocrypha,[5] the Songs,[6] and the Sonnets,[7] comprise a contribution of which any investigator and educator may be proud indeed. Brooke's style, too, has its many moments of charm; his sound and far-flung erudition never quite obscures his native wit, sometimes charming, sometimes mordant. All these virtues reappear in this posthumous collec-

* Editor's Note: See Howard Mumford Jones, *The King in Hamlet, University of Texas Bulletin,* No. 1865, Nov. 20, 1918; G. Wilson Knight, *The Wheel of Fire,* London, 1930, pp. 34-50.

tion of nineteen miscellaneous pieces, gathered together from various periodicals and manuscripts and now printed as a memorial volume, at the suggestion of the professor's former students.

How is one to respond, then, to Brooke's thesis, advanced in apparent sobriety, that "Iago was to Shakespeare intensely, even romantically attractive,"[8] and that the dramatist intended his audience to see that venomous character in the same warm light? In support of this view the interpreter solemnly reminds us that, before the catastrophe, this was the impression that Iago made on Cassio, Emilia, Roderigo, Desdemona, and Othello himself. He affects not to notice that all these characters were already dupes in the mind of the audience, which had been carefully enlightened by the villain himself. Brooke continues to argue that we should respond as affectionately to Iago as we do to Falstaff, who was likewise a clever and cynical liar. Such a complete disregard of the play's manifest effect upon the audiences of more than three centuries can only lead to the contemptuous disparagement of a playwright who knew so little of his craft that he had to wait for the Sterling Professor of English at Yale to divine his real intentions.[9]

There are other entertaining specimens of Brooke's quondam passion for paradox in this collection. Arguing that *The Fairy Queen* is indeed an enthralling and anything but a tedious work, his pedagogical enthusiasm constrains him to urge also that it is a masterpiece of structure and compression,[10] and anything but an allegory. "Allegory, forsooth!" he exclaims to his disciples, who here also learn, to their astonishment and delight, that they must not, when reading that "bourgeois" tragedy, *Lear,* yield too readily to their impulsion "to weep over the wounded vanity of a silly old man or shudder at his exposure in a casual storm."[11]

Let me at once add that such extravagant fancies as these are not found on every page of this volume. Even the essays in which they appear are treasuries of well-fortified and persuasive observation. But why do they appear at all? What do they indicate?

First, that even the greatest of scholars must have his moments of refreshing human irresponsibility, born not of ignorance or stupidity, but of mental vitality and exuberance. How much that is

irrational have we not enjoyed in our Shakespeare himself! Who would want a landlocked Bohemia? And if the critic, as well as the poet, is an artist, we must allow him a few wild oats of inconsisency. For the fact that Brooke proved himself an artist-scholar we can feel only gratitude.

Second, Brooke's moments of aberration occur mainly in his earlier work; they become less frequent with the passage of years, and were doubtless regretted by him as he grew into riper maturity. The *Lear* theory was advanced in 1913, thirty-five years ago, when the author was a mere thirty years of age; the Iago interpretation in 1918, and the Spenser in an old lecture which its author never approved for publication. To publish these at the present time is perhaps doing no real service to the defenceless departed.

Third, if one reads through the present collection, not in the haphazard sequence in which the essays are presented, but in the chronological order of their publication, one may observe not only a decrease in the number of questionable theses, but a steady advance in artistry—the artistry of both research and insight. The same story of the emergence of the artist out of the pedagogue could be illustrated by a fresh review of his books and editorial accomplishments. Such a rehearsal would carry one beyond the limits of the present review. Fortunately, some of the present fugitive items provide sufficient evidence upon which to suggest at least a rough survey of the scholar's development.[12]

Even in Brooke's earlier pieces, on such occasions when he chose simply to share his findings and pleasures with his readers, the result provides much welcome enlightenment. His hitherto unpublished essay on Marlowe,[13] his report on the Shakespeare Tercentenary (1917),[14] his animadversions on Hamlet's third soliloquy (1917),[15] are models of casual, accurate, and entertaining scholarship, and they are packed with pertinent and curious information.

The unmistakable artist manifests himself in the study of Shakespeare's personal character in "Shakespeare Apart" (1921),[16] which offers us an invaluable blend of fact, common sense, and imagination. Some years later, in "Shakespeare's Study in Culture and Anarchy," (1928),[17] we are given some surprising and highly

individualized speculation, but nothing that offers the slightest affront to one's sense of fact or of logic. Here Brooke draws up a provocative analogy between the England that Shakespeare knew, its imminent future as the poet might have envisioned it, and the cultural conflicts before ancient Troy, as the dramatist presented them in *Troilus*:

> I cannot help imagining [writes Brooke] that he [Shakespeare] is, however subconsciously, anatomizing the England of the dying Elizabeth: within the wall, the febrile Essex type of decadent chivalry; without, the strident go-getters of the newer dispensation: Cecil-Ulysses and Ralegh-Diomed. I take it that Shakespeare glimpsed somehow the seriousness of the cleavage between Cavalier and Puritan, sensed in Thersites the lowering shadow of Prynne and the iconoclasts, foresaw in Pandarus the portent of the scandalous Carr, Earl of Somerset. Indeed, when reading the great culminating scene (the second of Act V), in which Troilus, the heartbroken young cavalier, and the shrewd old puritan, Ulysses, are drawn together against a giddy and immoral universe, one may almost feel that the writing is prophetic—that the thing must have happened, not at ancient Troy but forty years after the play was created, on some night when Royalist and Cromwellian met beneath the walls of Oxford.[18]

This sort of thing may inspire the disparagement of the pundit who cannot lift his nose out of the frog-pond of fact in order to sniff the heady air of surmise. But if such sniffing is ever condonable (and what would facts be worth if they did not lead to such?), they are condonable in such a passage of insight as this.

In 1938 Professor Brooke produced his evaluation of the literary accomplishments of Sir Walter Ralegh.[19] In it he gives us a delicately balanced picture of one of the fiercest and most sensitive minds of the age. His appraisal of Ralegh's achievements in verse is beyond cavil. But, like many others, he takes quite seriously Sir Walter's letter to Cecil on the occasion of his incarceration for his temerity in marrying Elizabeth Throgmorton:

> My heart was never broken to this day [wrote Ralegh] that I heard the Queen goes so far off—whom I have followed so many years with so great love and desire, in so many journeys, and am now left behind her, in a dark prison, all alone . . . I that was wont

> to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks, etc., etc.[20]

The obvious sycophancy of the document seems to have eluded even the insight of Professor Brooke. It could illustrate only the fact that Ralegh, for all his courtly cleverness, could overstep himself. It did not, in its time, deceive the redoubtable intelligence of Elizabeth herself, who, avid for flattery as she was, refused to be moved by this surfeit of fulsome adulation. She took no steps to release the author from the Tower.

But when he was no longer the courtier, but a mere miserable human being awaiting decapitation, Ralegh could and did write imperishable prose to his wife:

> My love I send you, that you may keep it when I am dead; and my counsel, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not, with my last Will, present you with sorrows, dear Bess. Let them go to the grave with me, and be buried in the dust. And seeing that it is not the will of God that ever I shall see you in this life, bear my destruction gently, and with a heart like yourself.[21]

Professor Brooke might have substituted this passage, with its genuine emotion, for the insincere claptrap of the Cecil letter. On the other hand, Brooke's selections from the *History of the World* are impressively chosen, arranged, and discussed so as to reveal the magnificent range of Ralegh's interests and the power of his style.

Although it antedates Brooke's piece on Ralegh, his estimate of the character of Shakespeare's Queen (1927)[22] fits conveniently into this scattered series of comments. It should be read together with the delightful essay on Elizabeth's prayers (1938).[23] Here our critic adds his voice to the chorus of admiring allegiance which has resisted, for nearly four centuries, the opposing chant of defamation, and of sentimental adoration of Mary of Scotland. He rightly emphasizes the English Queen's brilliance in statecraft, in learning, in courage, in a certain kind of regal piety, in an adherence to her own mysterious concept of virginity. But as counsel for the defense he unnecessarily shuts his eyes to some of her temperamental frailties. He might have added that she was an almost unendurable termagant in her house-

hold, grasping and miserly to a degree, deceiving and persecuting her ladies, and so badgering even her faithful Lord Treasurer Burghley that he "oft shed a plenty of tears."[24] Such an addition might have brought a welcome touch of humanity to this otherwise admirable portrait.

And so we may continue to differ with Tucker Brooke on this point or that, even in his most mature and valuable work. But such differences as he then inspires are healthy indeed. As long as the clashes of opinion amongst us "Strafordians" are intelligent and friendly, we remain in good condition. Of the Baconians, incidentally, Brooke observes:

> There was once a time when it seemed a mark of daring and original thought to assert the identity of Francis Bacon with the author of the Shakespearean dramas. That time is now past and the mere Baconian is in sorry plight. His doctrine is as hackneyed as that of the Shakespearean and it lacks the compensating satisfaction of reason. There are few joys in being illogical when one must also be flat.[25]

For his many such effusions we shall long continue to award our gratitude to our late colleague and artist.

Columbia University

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[1]Tucker Brooke, *Essays on Shakespeare and Other Elizabethans,* Yale University Press, 1948.

[2]Tucker Brooke, *The Reputation of Christopher Marlowe,* New Haven, Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences (*Transactions,* vol. 25), 1922; C. F. Tucker Brooke, *The Life of Marlowe and the Tragedy of Dido,* London, Methuen, 1930.

[3]C. F. Tucker Brooke, *The Tudor Drama,* Boston, New York, etc., Houghton Mifflin, 1911.

[4]Tucker Brooke, *Shakespeare of Stratford,* Yale University Press, 1926.

[5]*The Shakespeare Apocrypha,* ed. by C. F. Tucker Brooke, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1918.

[6]*The Shakespeare Songs,* ed. by Tucker Brooke, New York, W. Morrow & Co., 1929.

[7]*Shakespeare's Sonnets,* ed. by Tucker Brooke, Oxford University Press, 1936.

[8]*Op. cit.,* pp. 46, ff.

[9]Brooke's curious attempt to whiten Iago's complexion was elaborated thirteen years

later by J. W. Draper (*PMLA,* vol. 46, pp. 724-737), who argued that since Iago recognized the distinction between good and evil, he could not have been an evil man—he only did wicked deeds, and sincerely believed that Emilia had been seduced by Othello. The suggestion was further developed by S. A. Tannenbaum ("The Wronged Iago," *SAB,* January, 1937, vol. XII, no. 1), who was compelled to indicate that perhaps Othello *had* invaded his Ensign's honor. E. E. Stoll (*Shakespeare and other Masters,* Cambridge, Mass., 1940, pp. 234-6) provides a sensible review of the whole rather pointless controversy. One may find mild exhilaration in the many continuing Shakespearean disputes of this kind. Again, Brooke (*Op. cit.,* p. 67) wonders what would have happened if Lear had taken up residence with Cordelia upon his retirement. This brings us into the region of a twice-removed fairyland, a dream-world known only to the supercharged imaginations of us pundits.

[10]*Op. cit.,* pp. 200-203. It is interesting to note that in Brooke's last major work, his contribution to *A Literary History of England,* ed. by A. C. Baugh, New York and London, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948, pp. 313-696 (the galley proofs of which arrived at the time of his death), he states, "The 'continued allegory or dark conceit' . . . is one of the effective elements in its [*The Fairy Queen's*] rich texture, and is not to be ignored" (p. 498). On the following page, however, the author returns to his "Allegory, forsooth!" business—a semantic confusion which will not lessen the students' perplexities.

[11]*Op. cit.,* p. 59.

[12]It is manifestly impossible to discuss here every one of these studies. With regret I must resist the temptation to comment on Brooke's discussion of Shakespeare's acquaintance with social customs (pp. 32-36), of Dover Wilson's interpretations of *Hamlet* (pp. 115-120), of Joseph Quincy Adam's *Life* (pp. 108-114), of Willobie's *Avisa* (pp. 167-178). Such comment, again, might easily turn into what Mr. H. L. Mencken once termed "criticism of criticism of criticism."

[13]*Op. cit.,* pp. 179-197.

[14]*Op. cit.,* pp. 93-102.

[15]*Op. cit.,* pp. 39-45.

[16]*Op. cit.,* pp. 16-31.

[17]*Op. cit.,* pp. 71-77.

[18]*Op. cit.,* pp. 76-77.

[19]*Op. cit.,* pp. 121-144.

[20]*Op. cit.,* p. 132 (quoting from Ralegh's Letters, ed. E. Edwards, 1868, p. 51).

[21]Reprinted in Edward Thompson, *Sir Walter Ralegh,* London, Macmillan, 1935, pp. 206-7.

[22]*Op. cit.,* pp. 1-15.

[23]*Op. cit., pp.* 145-157.

[24]Sir John Harrington, *Nugae Antiquae,* ed. Thomas Park, London, 1804, vol. I, pp. 356-8.

[25]*Op. cit.,* p. 21.

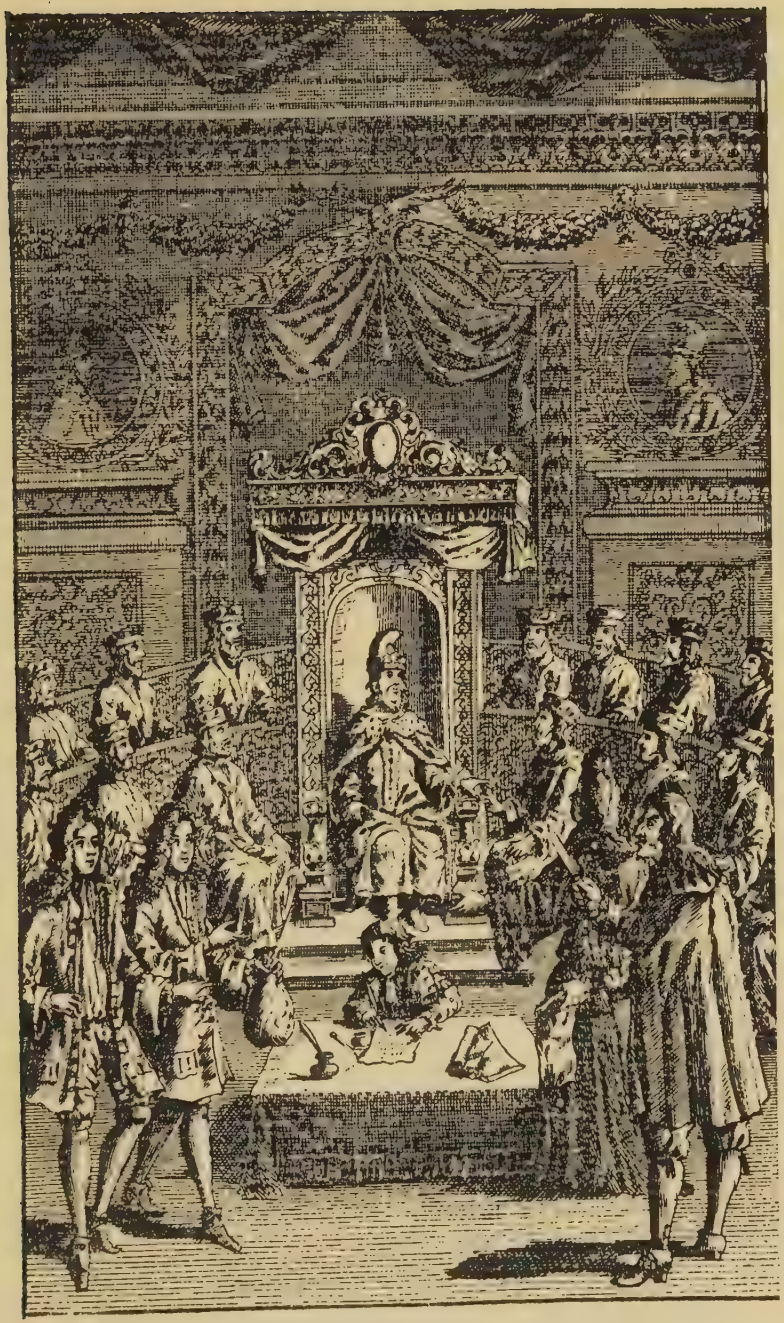

ILLUSTRATION OF *Merchant of Venice*, NICHOLAS ROWE'S EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE'S WORKS (1709).

THREE NOTES ON *THE MERCHANT OF VENICE*

By Norman Nathan

I

SHYLOCK AND SHULLOCK

THE origin of Shylock's name has eluded investigators. Suggested sources include the presence of a very few known Shylock's (as a surname) in England, as well as a Shurlock.[1] Another questionable claim is that the ballad of "Caleb Shillocke" (which may or may not post-date the *Merchant of Venice*) influenced Shakespeare's choice; but even this theory does not evidence the name's real origin.[2]

Many years ago Maurice Brodsky conjectured that Shakespeare came across a Latin translation of the *Pirké Avoth* and, from someone versed in Hebrew, heard the phrase *shelee shelee v'sheloch sheloch,* which would represent a man who stood on the letter of the law.[3] Brodsky's conclusion is that *Shylock* could well be an Englishman's pronunciation of the Hebrew *Sheloch.*

Israel Gollancz likewise went to the Hebrew for his concept. "I am strongly inclined to explain the use of the name as due to the erroneous association of 'Shiloch' with 'Shallach,' the Biblical Hebrew for 'cormorant,' the bird that 'swoops,' or dives after its prey . . . In Elizabethan English 'cormorant' was an expressive synonym for 'usurer' . . ."[4]

There is yet another possible origin for *Shylock.* In the *Oxford English Dictionary* appears the entry:

> Shu·llock—*obs.,* exc. *dial.* In 7 schullock, 9 *dial.* shollock, shullok, [Of obscure origin: cf. dial. *shallock, shollock* vb., to idle about, to slouch.] Used as a term of contempt.

> *a* 1603 T. Cartwright *Confut. Rhem. N. T.* (1618) 642 M. Calvin's great skill . . . could not without blushing be lacked of such shullockes and skipjackes as you be.

Thus, the word *shullock* appears in Elizabethan and post-Elizabethan days in a variety of spellings and, most important of all, as a term of contempt.

Is it not possible that Shakespeare used this word for his *Shylock?* The difference in spelling is no greater than, if as great as, that demanded by either Brodsky's or Gollancz' suggestions.[5] Besides, this conjecture does not involve a knowledge, at least vicarious, of Hebrew. And the meaning of *shullock* is surely as appropriate for Shylock as is that of the man who stands on the letter of the law or that of *cormorant (usurer?).*

But there is more than the similarity of sound and spelling as well as the fact that Shylock is felt to be contemptible by the Venetians to indicate that *shullock* is the source of the name.

Consider that, while the other important characters in the play are referred to in the stage directions and speaking cues by their proper names, Shylock is so designated fifty-one times and is referred to as *Jew* twenty-nine times.[6] Perhaps both *Shylock* and *Jew* were used by Shakespeare as descriptive terms.

Note, too, that the actors speak the word *Shylock* (or forms of it) thirty times while they use the word *Jew* or *Jewes* fifty times in the specific sense of denoting the money-lender. It may be expected that Shylock would often be referred to by his religion, but consider when and by whom *Shylock* is used and when and by whom *Jew* is used.

There appears to be a purpose behind Shakespeare's use of the two designations. Tubal, a Jew and a friend of Shylock, does not call Shylock by name. This negative evidence is augmented by the fact that no one in Jessica's presence speaks the word *Shylock.* The normal reference in such circumstances would be *father,* unless Shakespeare wished to avoid stressing the relationship. Yet, the word used in Jessica's presence is *Jew.* Surely neither Lorenzo nor his friends would want to offend Jessica. Their saying *Jew* rather than

Shylock in her presence seems significant and may indicate that the latter term was contemptuous.

Characters likely to be respectful would be those who are servants or of a serving class. Lancelot and his father both use *Jew* in the more than fifteen times that they refer to Shylock. Lancelot's father, not recognizing his son, asks the way to the *Jewes* house. Evidently, this was sufficient designation for Shylock and the proper term to be used by an insignificant person when speaking to a supposed stranger. On one occasion Lancelot does say *Shylock,* but this is right after Bassanio himself has used the term.

Thus, with the one exception just given, throughout the play the use of *Shylock* is confined to the noble Venetians when they are not in the presence of Jessica. This, also, would indicate the possibility that *Shylock* was a term of contempt.

One other point may be stated. Cartwright, in the example mentioned above, used *schullockes* to refer to those who were not of the proper (Calvin's) religion. Is this not Shylock's status in relationship to those who call him by the name?

For these several reasons the writer presumes to think that the suggestion that *Shylock* is connected with *shullock* is more probable than any other suggestion heretofore given.

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[1]The evidence indicates that *Shylock* is a surname. Yet, other major characters in the play are referred to by forenames ending either in *o* or *a* according to sex. *Tubal* is an Old Testament forename. Why should Shakespeare have made an exception in the money-lender's case? Could it be that he did not consider *Shylock* to be either a forename or a surname but a descriptive term?

[2]*Notes and Queries,* CLXI (Dec. 26, 1931), 467: brief notes by M. Hope Dodds, Wm. Jaggard, Fred. Hitchen-Kemp, and A. J. H.

[3]*Notes and Queries,* XCIII (May 9, 1896), 362ff.

[4]*A Book of Homage to Shakespeare,* "Some Observations on Shakespearian Names . . . 'Shylock . . .,'" pp. 170-3.

[5]It is not necessary to assume that Shakespeare changed the *u* to *y* in naming the money-lender. Consider two words, *shall* and *shilling,* which have the same initial phonemes as *shullock. Shall,* as late as the fifteenth century, existed in a wide variety of mutations. More significant is *shilling* which, in the fifteenth century, shows spellings including *shillyng, schelyng, schulleng,* and *schullyng.* Cartwright's *schullockes* may be an old form of the word, or Shakespeare's *Shylock* (spelled *Shilock* on occasion in the third quarto) may be the way some persons actually pronounced the word.

[6]This counting is for the first folio. The first quarto uses *Shylock* sixty-one times and *Jew* nineteen times as far as stage directions and acting cues are concerned.

II

ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE MERCHANT OF VENICE

"Shakespeare's anti-Semitic prejudice is clearly shown in the *Merchant of Venice,*" writes Dr. Tannenbaum.[1] This contention is not new. The list of illustrious critics and ordinary citizens who believe likewise would be extensive.[2] On the other hand, there are those who hold that the play is really an appeal by Shakespeare for sympathetic understanding for those of the Jewish religion.[3] Textual evidence supports neither view.

The fact that Shakespeare wrote a play in which one of the major characters happens to be an evil Jew is not the slightest proof of anti-Semitism any more than an appropriate selection of characters from *King Lear* would prove that Shakespeare was anti-English. So, too, no charge of bigotry can be leveled against the playwright because he may have agreed with the Venetians that lending money at interest was despicable. And there should be no objection that Shakespeare, having to make Shylock something, cast him as a Jew. Since many Jews, presumably because other means of livelihood were often barred to them, were money-lenders, why should Shakespeare have changed his source, *Il Pecorone,* in this particular?[4]

Also, there is no basis for the complaint that all of Shakespeare's Jewish characters are evil. Jessica, whose mother was Jewish (there is some doubt raised as to her paternity), disproves this contention. She is not, as Dr. Tannenbaum maintains, a "dishonest and disloyal father-hating minx." Every character who expresses himself about Jessica speaks well of her, except Shylock and possibly Tubal. If Shakespeare thought ill of Jessica, he must have thought ill of every Christian in the play. In that case, the whole charge of anti-Semitism would fall by the wayside.[5]

Likewise no evidence of anti-Semitism can be found in the punishment of Shylock. The law said that he, as an alien (not as a Jew) conspiring against the life of a Venetian, could be put to death and his money could be confiscated. Instead, he is given both his life and his money. Would anyone maintain that an anti-Semite

is so merciful towards a Jew or, in writing a play, is at all likely to advocate such generosity? The comparatively lenient punishment meted out to Shylock is, first, that he may not disinherit his daughter. His second burden is that he become a Christian. In view of Shylock's quick acceptance of this condition, it, too, was evidently no great punishment. Shylock is, after all, more worried about money than about religion. If he seems more intent upon the pound of flesh than thrice three thousand ducats, it should be recalled that Antonio has hindered him half a million. Thus, even the loss of nine thousand ducats, if it resulted in removing Antonio, might be a good financial investment. Shylock's real punishment, after which little else is important, is that Antonio is saved.

The reader should not be misled by Shylock's many rhetorical complaints about his misfortunes. Although he often maintains that the Christians hate him because he is a Jew, only Lancelot and perhaps Gratiano give evidence of this.[6] What in the actions or statements of the Christians justifies the famous "Hath not a Jew eyes?" The only harm Shylock has ever suffered, as far as the reader can discover, is that his usury has been frowned upon and he has been scorned because of it. In fact, both Antonio and Shylock appear to agree as to the basis of their mutual animosity. When Shylock refuses to show him mercy, Antonio says (III, iii, 25-8):

> He seeks my life, his reason well I know;
> I oft delivered from his forfeitures
> Many that have at times made moan to me,
> Therefore he hates me.

Shylock previously had spoken in a similar vein to Antonio (I, iii, 115-7):

> You call me misbeliever, cut-throat dog,
> And spit upon my Jewish gaberdine,
> And all for use of that which is mine own.

Shylock's *all* gives him away. Even he appears to realize that what is objected to is not his religion but his avarice.

If the charge of anti-Semitism is to be substantiated, it cannot be done on the basis of plot, Shylock's punishment, or his complaints.

The important evidence, if it exists, must be the actual statements made by the Christian characters when speaking about Jews. The terms *Jew* and *Jewes* are used sixty-two times by Christians in the play. In all but eight instances, however, the reference is not to Jews as a group but to a specific Jew, usually Shylock, and on occasion Jessica or Tubal. Specific references to one person cannot prove critical of an entire group. If Shylock is called a harsh Jew, no one could deduce in all fairness that Shakespeare considered all Jews to be harsh. The proof of Shakespeare's anti-Semitic tendencies in this play must rest, therefore, on the eight instances in which the term *Jew* is used to refer to the group.

Four of the references may be quickly dismissed. Lancelot says, ". . . I am a Jew if I serve the Jew any longer" (II, ii, 106-7). Bassanio asks Lancelot if he is willing "To leave a rich Jewes service" (II, ii, 141). The former is merely a rhetorical way of saying that there is no possibility that Lancelot will remain with Shylock.[7] The latter remark is purely descriptive.

Lancelot says to Jessica (II, v, 44-5):

> There will come a Christian by,
> Will be worth a Jewes eye.

This means either that the Christian will be worth seeing or that Lorenzo will be worth a Jew's ransom (a large sum of money).[8]

When Jessica is eloping with Lorenzo she tells him (II, vi, 56-7):

> I will make fast the door and gild myself
> With some more ducats, and be with you straight.

Gratiano, hearing this, says, "Now by my hood, a Gentile, and no Jew." Since Jessica is taking that which is not hers, this remark is hardly derogatory of one of the Jewish faith. It may be that Gratiano thinks he is paying her a compliment. This would prove some prejudice on his part, but surely he is not speaking for Shakespeare. The dramatist would not have considered Jessica's theft, even if it be excusable, as indicative of a Christian virtue.

Two other instances need hardly be mentioned if Dr. Tannenbaum had not said, "In this play the Jew is repeatedly likened to the devil and the devil to the Jew." A brief look at those passages in which *devil* appears (those in which Lancelot calls Shylock a devil may be excluded, since the reference is to Shylock alone) totally denies this contention. Salanio, seeing Shylock approach, says, "Let me say Amen betimes, lest the devil cross my prayer, for here he comes in the likeness of a Jew" (III, i, 19-20). Although Salanio likes neither the devil nor Shylock, he has said nothing against Jews.

Some lines later Salanio speaks in a similar vein when Tubal enters, "Here comes another of the Tribe, a third cannot be matched, unless the devil himself turn Jew" (III, i, 72-3). This literally means that there are no Jews as bad as Shylock and Tubal; and, in order to be able to find another so evil, it would be necessary to have the devil turn into a Jew. This is hardly praise of Jews, but it does demonstrate the important point that Shylock and Tubal are not considered typical Jews. Thus, although Shakespeare portrayed two evil Jews (and why should he not, since he did not hesitate to flay evil examples of his own countrymen?) he evidently did not regard them as types for an anti-Semitic attack.

There are, nevertheless, two instances of slurs in the play. Lancelot says, ". . . my Master's a verie Jew, give him a present, give him a halter, I am famished in his service" (II, ii, 100-1). Presumably, Lancelot thought that Jews were stingy. Grant that such a remark shows prejudice on the part of Lancelot. Still, is it fair to maintain that Shakespeare's sentiments concerning Jews should be based on the remark of a lazy servant who is often referred to in the acting cues as *Clown?* It is illuminating to note in this connection that most of the anti-Semitic remarks with which Dr. Tannenbaum charges Shakespeare in other plays come from the mouths of a weird sister, "the clown, Launce," "the stupid clown, Costard," and "the cowardly, rascally Falstaff."[9] If this is the best evidence that can be offered, it is by no means fantastic to infer that Shakespeare felt, and is showing his audience, that anti-Semitic remarks are made only by stupid and inferior individuals.

In the eighth and last instance in the play where Jews are referred to as a group, Antonio says that it is useless to expect kindness from Shylock, for (IV, i, 83-5):

> You may as well do anything most hard,
> As seek to soften that, than which what harder?
> His Jewish heart.

It may be logically deduced that Antonio here maintains that Jews are hard-hearted. And the evidence that Shakespeare is anti-Semitic reduces itself to the belief that this one remark, made by a comparatively estimable character, represents the author's point of view. Consider, however, that what Antonio says is a slur only by inference and could possibly not have been intended to mean that all Jewish hearts are hard. Consider, too, that this bitter remark is made by a man who is about to be legally murdered by a member of the Jewish religion. In view of this, is it not amazing that Shakespeare should have saved his anti-Semitic tendencies, if he had any, for one indirect and not too violent remark made by a man at a time of stress![10] Was the great Shakespeare, who could make his characters speak with such vitriol, likely to be negligent of opportunities in a play in which Jews could appropriately be referred to dozens of times?

Thus, it appears to the present writer that all the evidence in the play that Shakespeare was anti-Semitic must rest on one remark, the dramatic value of which to prove a thesis would be unworthy even of a Thomas Heywood.

To show just how innocuous Shakespeare's play is, it is necessary to go no further than the rival company's play which may have caused the writing of the *Merchant of Venice.* Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* demonstrates how simple it is to put intolerant phrases in the mouths of characters. Compare what Antonio says with the direct statement Ferneze makes near the end of the *Jew of Malta,* "Now, Selim, note the unhallowed deeds of Jews" (V, vi, 88). Some lines later, after Selim exclaims, "O monstrous treason!" Ferneze replies, "A Jew's courtesy" (V, vi, 104). Frankly, is there any remark or any sum of remarks in the *Merchant of Venice* even one tenth as anti-Semitic as either of these in Marlowe's play? It would appear that those who accuse Shakespeare of anti-Semitic tendencies must logically conclude that the master was either not able or unwilling to express himself clearly on this matter.

While the evidence that Shakespeare himself was bigoted seems, therefore, ngeligible, he may still be accused of capitalizing on the

anti-Semitic prejudices of his audience. Of this charge he cannot be fully absolved. Anti-Semitic literature was popular in Elizabethan times, and the success of the *Jew of Malta* as well as that of the *Merchant of Venice* must in part be attributed to the portrayal of a despicable Jew. Still, the less Shakespeare he if he had not been receptive to his audience. And, while he did consider their wishes, he did not pander to them. He was too imaginative an artist not to sense that one cannot indict a nation. Perhaps the trend of the play would have been different if Shakespeare could have argued by means of the modern concepts of heredity and environment, if the sociology of his day had been only as far advanced as to show, what now seems so obvious, that the kind of business a man engages in is not a trait inherited from his ancestors. The dramatist was, nevertheless, an enlightened man for his time. He cannot fairly be judged by twentieth century ideals.

One thing more. Those who maintain that the *Merchant of Venice* is anti-Semitic are leveling a charge not against Shakespeare but against the world. Intolerance and persecution have made many persons of the Jewish faith assume that, when the term *Jew* is applied to them by non-Jews, the connotation is unfavorable.[11] Until the time arrives when religous prejudice exists no more, there may always be those who will not feel at ease with the *Merchant of Venice* because Shylock is referred to by the purely descriptive term, *the Jew.*

* * * * *

The theses that *Shylock* signified contempt and that Shakespeare was not anti-Semitic tend mutually to support each other. If Shakespeare considered it desirable to call his money-lender by a contemptuous name, such as *Shylock,* it seems likely that *Jew* was not necessarily a term of contempt to the author's way of thinking. Likewise, if Shakespeare was not bigoted, he might well have wanted to call Shylock by a derogatory name and not use *Jew* in that manner.

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[1]*SAB,* XIX (January, 1944), 47.

[2]Phelps, William Lyon, ed., *The Yale Shakespeare: The Merchant of Venice,* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1923, p. 110.

Silverman, Maurice, "Shylock—Shakespeare's Enigma," *Reflex,* IV (April, 1929), 60-9.

Stoll, Elmer Edgar, "Shakespeare's Jew," *University of Toronto Quarterly,* VIII (Jan., 1939), 139-54.

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Ward, Adolphus W., *A History of English Dramatic Literature* (2 vols.), Macmillan and Co., London, 1875, I, 188-92.

[3]Brown, Charles Armitage, *Shakespeare's Autobiographical Poems,* James Bohn, London, 1838, pp. 275-82.

Hawkins, Frederick, "Shylock and Other Stage Jews," *The Theatre,* Nov. 1, 1879, pp. 191-8.

Packard, Maurice, *Shylock Not a Jew,* The Stratford Co., Boston, 1919.

[4]M. J. Landa, whose excellent survey of the origin and development of the pound of flesh theme shows that the Jewish element was a later addition, is of the opinion about Shakespeare that, ". . . he had no design of branding the Jews with a perpetual stigma." (*The Shylock Myth,* W. H. Allen and Co., London, 1942, p. 44.)

[5]Not only does Shakespeare fail to malign Jessica through his Christian characters, but the stage conventions of the time lead one to believe that the audience must have applauded her. Playwrights frequently gave the harsh father a disobedient daughter. And among these disobedient daughters are some of the most sympathetic women in all of the theatre. Desdemona is a gem. Juliet may be young and foolish, but she is not without charm. Bel-imperia in the *Spanish Tragedy,* Mellida in *Antonio's Revenge,* and Sophonisba are not absolutely loyal to their fathers; yet, their actions seem justified in view of their predicaments. And Margaret in *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* is no kinder to Overreach than Jessica is to Shylock.

The question is, would an Elizabethan audience feel that Jessica had good cause for her disobedience and her stealing, legally speaking, of her dowry? Shylock is stingy, therefore he deserves to lose money; Shylock wants to keep his daughter locked up from Christians, therefore it is fitting that he suffer his daughter's elopement with a Christian. And when Shylock finds that he has lost both his daughter and some money, he wishes that she were hearsed at his feet with *the ducats in her coffin.* To an Elizabethan audience Jessica had provocation and emerges as a sympathetic character. Note, too, that in her conversations with Christians she does not vent her spleen against her father. She may not love him, but who could?

[6]Shakespeare does not cut all of his characters from the same cloth. Only artificiality would have been served by keeping Lancelot and Gratiano on the high-minded level of Antonio. Yet, if Lancelot and Gratiano can be called anti-Semitic, it is only on the basis of one remark apiece. Significantly enough, they both think highly of Jessica.

[7]Benedick uses the same kind of device when he says in *Much Ado,* "If I do not take pity of her, I am a villain; if I do not love her, I am a Jew" (II, iii, 271-2). Is there any proof of contempt here?

[8]*Variorum: The Merchant of Venice,* p. 90, n. This remark of Lancelot's seems like prophecy, for after Shylock's trial it could truly be said that Lorenzo was worth a Jew's (Shylock's) ransom.

[9]There are, in all, seven uses of the term *Jew* in Shakespeare's plays, if the *Merchant* is excluded. Benedick's phrase, given above, is hardly proved bigotry. Flute, in *A Mid-Summer Night's Dream,* says, "Most brisky juvenal, and eke most lovely Jew" (III, i,

97). Surely this is a pun. The five remaining uses indicate bigotry; but, before condemning Shakespeare, consider who speak them: Launce (twice), Costard, Falstaff, and the third weird sister.

Shakespeare uses the term *Jewry* seven times, but never in an abusive way (four of these are *Herod of Jewry*). In *Richard II* Gaunt says (II, i, 53-6):

> Renowned . . .
> As is the sepulchre in stubborn Jewry
> Of the world's ransom, blessed Mary's Son.

Should a Jew feel slighted when called stubborn for not accepting a Christian belief?

[10]In an earlier scene Antonio says to Bassanio after Shylock has made his exit (I, iii, 183-4): "Hie thee gentle Jew. This Hebrew will turn Christian, he grows kind." Let no one confuse Shakespeare's double-barreled pun with religious prejudice. Not only is there the play on "Gentile-Jew," but Shylock had said previously, "This is kind I offer." Thus, Antonio is jesting on the word *kind;* that is, the Hebrew will turn Christian, he grows one of us.

[11]If the reader cannot rid himself of the feeling that bigotry pervades the *Merchant,* let him assume that Shylock was an Englishman among the Venetians, and for every use of *Jew* let him substitute *Englishman.* Would such changes give the reader the impression that the author was anti-English? If not, then the conclusion may well be that bigotry exists only in the reader's interpretation of the play.

III

ERVINE, SCHWARTZ, AND SHAKESPEARE

(1) The Lady of Belmont

IN the past quarter of a century, the *Merchant of Venice* has directly inspired the writing and producing of two full-length plays in England and the United States: St. John Ervine's *The Lady of Belmont* and Maurice Schwartz' dramatization, *Shylock and His Daughter.*[1] While these plays are far removed from each other (and from Shakespeare), both of them agree in one respect. Shylock is made the representative of a persecuted people, and the playwrights, through him, attempt to secure sympathy for the sufferings of Jews because of their religion. That is, Ervine and Schwartz want to do what they feel Shakespeare failed to do, present The Jew, state his case against the world, and render him justice.

Theirs is a precarious feat, since, in securing compassion for all Jews, they must not arouse prejudice against all Christians. Shakespeare, even if unconsciously, appears to have been guided by the principle that one cannot defend an entire group any more than one can indict it. Shylock's famous speech, although Jew is used as the symbol, can have but one meaning to an understanding reader—each man, whatever his group, is to be judged on his individual merits and demerits. In the opinion of this writer, that is the best possible attack against anti-Semitism. But Ervine and Schwartz have attempted something more.

The Lady of Belmont is written as a sequel to the *Merchant,* which Ervine considers an improbable play with a silly plot.[2] Ten years have elapsed and it is to be expected that the characters have changed somewhat. Unfortunately, Ervine's conception of the true natures of most of those in Shakespeare's play is unjustifiably low. In addition, their evil traits have been magnified and their good points abandoned so that Shylock may, by comparison, seem a much-abused person. The result is that *The Lady of Belmont* is filled with flat and vulgar characters whose baseness the playwright vainly tries to balance by a supposed glorification of Shylock.

Antonio, for example, becomes an old fool. According to Ervine he was originally pompous and priggish, and these qualities "are now lacking in the dignity which enabled him to carry off his grand signior ways in Venice" (p. 11). He browbeats the servant Balthasar (p. 13). He has, strangely enough, developed a trick of occasionally speaking short and repetitious phrases, a trick which he apparently acquired from Shakespeare's Shylock![3] The majority of his lines have some connection with reminding his auditors that ten years before he had almost lost a pound of flesh.

The Bassanio of the *Merchant* is completely one-sided as Ervine presents him. He emerges as a profligate, continually deceiving his wife and even preaching inconstancy to Jessica, his feminine objective of the moment (p. 77). He is a liberal liar, which he was not in the *Merchant.*[4] Although in the trial scene Bassanio was the one man who wanted to pay a vanquished Shylock the three thousand ducats and was willing to give that sum to a disguised Portia in gratitude, he is represented by Ervine as dishonest and ungrateful.

Also, Ervine has forgotten that, while he fully appreciated the fact that marrying Portia would make him wealthy, he was not unmindful of her being "nothing undervalued / To Cato's daughter, Brutus' Portia" (I, i, 175-6).

Jessica "is still the mean little sweep she was when she ran away with Lorenzo"! (p. 42). Gratiano lacks Bassanio's assurance, but resembles him otherwise (p. 15). Nerissa is "now a matronly figure, but hardly so genial as she was in the *Merchant of Venice*" (p. 9). Lorenzo, according to Shylock, is "a foolish babbling fellow" (p. 93). Even Gobbo "has grown slyer in his ways . . . but he is still something of an amusing rogue" (p. 13).

Portia suffers least in this deliberate process of decay. Not only does she alone behave with perfect good manners towards Shylock, she actually is willing to offend her friends in order to give aid to him when, overcome with weariness, he arrives at her house. She is, however, a virtuous and long-suffering great lady of little individuality. No longer is she fun to be with. Gone are her sweetness of spirit, her forthrightness in love, and her ability to outwit Bassanio at a playful jest. Even the illusion of her wisdom, which Shakespeare so skillfully creates, is demolished when Portia admits that she imitated Bellario's handwriting and herself wrote the letter commending her to the Duke. One critic writes of Ervine, "It is no doubt part of his plan to empty of poetry one of the most spring-like of Shakespeare's plays."[5] This depoetization applies to the characters as well as to the language.

As a contrast to all this, Shylock should have been drawn on a vastly higher plane than that which he occupies in the *Merchant*. It is Ervine's intention to glorify his character. Shylock's grandson, not knowing who he is, calls him "kind" (p. 75). Portia has "seldom known a more honourable gentleman" (p. 85). Also, the shame of Shylock's willingness to renounce his religion is altered, for, though a Christian by christening and outer coverings, underneath he is a Jew. He says, "I keep our holy Sabbath in my heart." Then "he throws off his rich garment and reveals his Jewish gaberdine" (p. 69).

In changing the character of Shylock, however, Ervine has not succeeded in ennobling him very much if at all. Shylock's converting to Christianity and then remaining a Jew at heart are both understandable. The martyr need not die for his religion for the obvious reason that some martyrs must live in order to perpetuate that religion. It is foolish to condemn Shylock, as do many in the play, for his outward conversion. The history of persecution is too full of multitudes of various sects who practiced their rites in secret in order that their faith might survive at all.

Ervine, however, offers no proof that Shylock is more than an opportunist who wears his Judaism next to his skin in order to calm his conscience. Does Shylock suffer because of his conversion? Look at the evidence. Shylock once again is wealthy (how he lost his wealth is not made clear); but this wealth, as in the *Merchant,* is still not compensated for by a charitable hand. Shylock has become an intimate of the Duke who ordered his conversion. Shylock is now a senator, a member of a governing body that no doubt passes anti-Jewish laws.[6]

Shylock, therefore, appears to have only a casual feeling for the Judaism he claims to believe in. And he has other faults as well. He says that he loves his daughter dearly and that he has a passion for posterity. Yet, it took him ten years to decide to visit his daughter. Perhaps that is understandable. Not so is his failure to know the number of Jessica's children.

Moreover, he is hardly a truthful person. He finds Jessica with Bassanio. When they hear others coming, the two men hide just in time, for Portia and Lorenzo enter and accuse Jessica of having had a male visitor. Shylock reappears to say that he has been alone with her. Since he is here a father trying to protect his daughter, this lie could be forgiven him. However, a little later Portia catches a glimpse of Bassanio as he steals away. She asks Shylock why he denied that Bassanio was there and receives as an answer, "I thought to save you pain"! (p. 84). Shylock had just previously shown that his sense of honor was not of the best. He had promised Gobbo not to speak to his grandchildren. Yet, when young Lorenzo appears, Shylock remains to talk to him (pp. 72-3).

Thus, Shylock emerges as an opportunist and a wealthy, respected citizen who, once he has converted, suffers no rebuffs because of his Jewish origin until he comes to Belmont. There, he is in a nest of anti-Semites. Antonio says, "A Jew! God save us all, a Jew!" (p. 11). Bassanio says, "Honoured or not honoured, you're still a Jew to me, Shylock" (p. 39). Gratiano says, "God is wise and makes the best of His material. That which He loves, He makes into Christians. That which He dislikes, He makes into Jews" (p. 40). The latter two, plus Nerissa and others, agree to bait Shylock by having a mock trial based on the original one in Venice.

The effect of his reception at Belmont cannot arouse real sympathy for him. True, he is scorned by a fool (Antonio), a wastrel lecher (Bassanio), an ordinary lecher (Gratiano), a licentious daughter (Jessica), and a paid fool (Gobbo). Against this group of buffoons is the opinion of those who really matter. Portia, the only good person appearing in the play, praises Shylock; both noble and gentle Venetians (except those now at Belmont) think highly of him; and the ordinary Venetians respect him.

If Shylock has one complaint against his world, it is that he is forced to accept Christianity. The practical validity of this complaint can be judged by how much Shylock suffers because of his conversion. Ervine could have made this suffering real. If Shylock did something to help his fellow Jews, if he were presented at worship in a synagogue, or even if he were shown sincerely discussing his religious tribulations with another Jew, somehow the reader might be made to sense the reality of his religious feeling. But he remains a man with a theoretical complaint. Maybe the Venetians understood him better than he understood himself.

What does Shylock offer as a solution for anti-Semitism? He says, "We cannot go back, madam—we must go on and mingle with the world and lose ourselves in other men. I know that outward things pass and have no duration. There is nothing left but the goodness which a man performs" (p. 94). It seems, if the writer judges these words aright, that Shylock is in favor, perhaps not of conversion, but at least of a blending of Jews with non-Jews until the identity of his religion is lost. It seems that he is saying that Judaism and Christian-

ity are outward things and that nothing is of importance but good deeds.

Now, Ervine is surely entitled to his opinion. But to put such words in Shylock's mouth is to make Shylock a hypocrite. Let him do good deeds and stop worrying about the clothes he wears under his rich robe.

In attempting to arouse sympathy for persecuted Jews, Ervine has, if unconsciously, belittled Judaism by making so inferior an example as Shylock the representative of the group.[7] The source of his error is perhaps traceable to a remark he made about Shylock, ". . . nor can I believe that so strict and devout a Jew would have accepted the final ignominy imposed upon him by the canting Antonio."[8] A close reading of the *Merchant* fails to disclose that Shylock is *so strict and devout a Jew.* Grant that Shylock does not eat pork, but is there anything in the play to prove that Shylock is truly religious rather than merely ceremonial? Ervine's first basic error is that his play shows no comprehension of the principles of Judaism.[9] For that matter, neither does the *Merchant.* But Shakespeare, who treated his characters as individuals, did not fall into Ervine's second error, that of making Shylock the representative of the group.

The Lady of Belmont, then, is a bad play. Its dialogue is witty and fast-moving, but neither profound nor consistent. The characters lack depth. The forced comparison with the *Merchant* makes the reader constantly aware of the inadequacies of the later play. And in attempting to ennoble Shylock and evoke sympathy for Jews Ervine is completely unconvincing.

(2) Shylock and His Daughter

Shylock and His Daughter, the more recent version of the *Merchant,* avoids one of Ervine's mistakes. Ibn Zahav's introduction to the English translation of the play shows that Schwartz did not make the fatal error of trying to improve Shakespeare. *Shylock and His Daughter* does not implicitly criticise Shakespeare's play as a play. Unfortunately, according to Ibn Zahav, Shakespeare knew little about Jews and consequently wrote a play that is, regardless of its

quality as drama, historically inaccurate. "It should finally be emphasized that Shylock's monologues, the wonderful statements which Shakespeare placed in his mouth, can be taken as indisputable proof that had Shakespeare scrutinized closely the life of the Sixteenth Century Jew in Italy, he would have given us a Shylock who could have served as eternal protest against the inquisition and persecution of Jews generally" (p. 8).[10]

Ibn Zahav's conjecture, like most conjectures about what Shakespeare would have done, seems wishful thinking. But it does reveal greater respect for the *Merchant* than Ervine shows. *Shylock and His Daughter* is not aimed at improving Shakespeare. It is merely an attempt to present a play, using similar characters and plot, that is historically more accurate than the *Merchant,* that is, the play that Shakespeare might have written (obviously in a dialogue infinitely finer) had he known more about Jews in Italy.

Shylock and His Daughter has some important points to make and clearly succeeds in this part of its purpose. The play contains propaganda, but there is nothing necessarily wrong with propaganda in so far as truth is not violated. Schwartz shows, first, that the Jewish religion is based largely on charity and kindness. Second, that Jews were engaged in usury because Christians of the time made other employment impossible for them. Third, that Jews were cruelly tortured for their religious beliefs. These statements can be accepted and, if Schwartz had gone no further, could probably be made to fit into a revised and laudable Shylock story.

Unlike the Shylock of Shakespeare and Ervine, Schwartz' moneylender is a sincerely religious Jew who can see the synagogue from his window. He is extremely charitable and concerns himself with the plight of his fellow Jews. Jessica is expected to learn both the teachings and the language of the Hebrews. Shylock's respect for the local rabbi is apparent. Mention of Jewish dishes and customs is woven into the dialogue.

Equally important is the fact that Shylock appears among Jews. Schwartz has added to the cast Rabbi Romano, Rabbi Nehemiah,

Samuel Morro, Dr. Klonymos, and a vastly changed Jessica and Tubal. All of these Jews are religious, all reverence charity, all respect learning. This does not mean that they are saints. Jessica disobeys her father and eventually becomes a Christian. Both Shylock and Morro, after Jessica's elopement, defy Rabbi Romano. Rabbi Romano, in his swift excommunication of Shylock and Morro, proves that he can be cruel as well as kind. Regardless of these human failings, the principles of Judaism are made apparent.

Jessica's character undergoes great change. She loves her father, but sighs for the freedom of the world outside the ghetto. She arranges to go to Rome to ransom Rabbi Nehemiah and other Jews. On the way back from this unsuccessful mission she visits Antonio's palace. Here she succumbs to luxury and consents to marry Lorenzo, whom she has loved for some time, and become a Christian. The last few lines of the play show that she repents, tries to be reaccepted by her people, and, being repulsed, commits suicide. Schwartz' Jessica is the only real Jewess in the three plays, and that is probably because her father is the only truly religious Shylock in these plays.

All this could have added up to a good play. Unfortunately, the dialogue is often poor (this may in part, and only in part, be due to the translator), melodrama is prevalent, and the author's own prejudice is apparent—all of which makes *Shylock and His Daughter,* as a play, inferior even to *The Lady of Belmont.*

Naturally, the purpose of dialogue is to give information. A skillful dramatist makes it seem, however, as if the speakers were totally unaware of any outside audience. Schwartz is something less than skillful when he has Antonio address Shylock in what amounts to a summary rather than conversation.

> I want to help a friend of mine with three thousand ducats. As a matter of course, I would lend him the money gratis, without interest. But my vessels from Tripoli and India have been somewhat delayed. Therefore, I wish to borrow this sum from you—for which I shall seal a bond and pay interest at the usual rates which Jewish bankers charge their Christian borrowers. (p. 67)

Note, too, that the dialogue is not always in character.

> Antonio: . . . Many a time I have helped strangers by lending them money gratis.
>
> Shylock: With intent to rob Jews of their crust of bread.
>
> Antonio: True. And I would do that yet again, had not my vessels been so long delayed. (p. 69)

Would Antonio, who hates usury, have agreed that his main purpose was *to rob Jews of their crust of bread?* This is Schwartz speaking, not Antonio.

Portia says to Antonio,

> Often a feeling of pity arises within me for these unfortunates who have driven away from amongst them the Son of God, Him whom you resemble even as a twin brother. When I gaze at His carved lips, I think of yours . . . *(They stand as if frozen in ecstacy . . .)* (p. 41)

This is not merely out of character; it is in such poor taste as to repel the reader.

Morro says,

> *(From behind door.)* Father, in God's name, open the door. *(Shylock pays no heed.)* Father, open the door, or I shall immediately return to Ancona! *(Shylock, frightened, opens door. Morro enters.)* (p. 119)

That the play is largely melodrama can be seen not only from the above snatches of dialogue. The stage directions are further proof. On page 143 there is written about Shylock, "He has become old, bent and wizened in the intervening three days; he can barely stand on his legs." On page 145 are two gems: Shylock "speaks in measureless pain"; "Suddenly, in the small prison-window, the head of Samuel Morro appears. His face expresses exalted pain."

The most serious charge against the play, however, is that of the author's prejudice. Schwartz is not writing a romantic comedy. Presumably he is writing about life with what he hopes is historical accuracy. Therefore, it is disturbing to discover that no Christian in the play is demonstrably a good man compared with any of the Jewish characters. It is understandable, in days when religious prejudice was saturated through society, that Christians and Jews did not like each other. But, the play presents an unfair picture in going beyond this general intolerance. Half the Christians in the play will accept bribes or ransoms; no Jew will. No Christian seems to see any wrong in physically torturing Jews even until death. Portia admits to a feeling of pity towards Jews, yet she can say to Antonio when he speaks of his hatred for them, "This slight fault in you, my dear, can well be forgiven, since the entire world feels the same toward them" (p. 41). Launcelot and Salanio, who speak with some sympathy for Jews, are yet bribe-takers and can bite the hand that feeds them. Of course, an author has the right to select his characters (though some have denied this right to Shakespeare in the *Merchant*). The point is, however, does Schwartz select evil Christians because he wants to portray evils, or does he select them because he wants to prove that in the sixteenth century Jews were superior to non-Jews? There is evidence to show that the latter is the author's intention. He has not been content to say that goodness and badness are matters of individuals rather than of adherents to a particular religion. For the assumption in the play is not the fact that Judaism condemns the shedding of blood, but the fallacious concept that no one professing Judaism can shed blood!

Ibn Zahav, in introducing the play, writes, "Shylock *demanded* vengeance but he did not *take* it, because he was a Jew; and there is no single instance in the entire long history of the Jewish people of an elderly Jew taking another man's life" (p. 8). That this is the attitude of the play can be evidenced by two sentences Shylock speaks almost as the final curtain falls, "I cannot shed blood. I am a Jew!" (p. 145). One feels that Ibn Zahav did not look very hard to find his single instance. He had to go only to the *First Book of Samuel,* for Samuel "hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal" (15: 33). Samuel had previously called himself an old man (12:2). It is needless to multiply instances to demolish so prejudiced a viewpoint.

The plot of *Shylock and His Daughter* could have been good except for the implications mentioned above. Bassanio has been omitted. Antonio, the merchant, is the husband of Portia. Lorenzo, in order to bribe Shylock's servants and the gatekeepers of the ghetto, has Antonio borrow from Shylock three thousand ducats which he will use to rescue Jessica. Antonio willingly lends the money because he feels that it will result in a worthy end—the conversion of a Jewess. It is Antonio who insists upon the pound of flesh in the bond. At the trial, Shylock offers to release Antonio if Jessica will be returned to him. But that would mean her renouncing Christianity, and Antonio replies, "I would not be able to expiate a sin like this through a thousand Infernos. I *will* not have her return to the Jewish faith" (p. 141). Thus, Antonio emerges as strongly steeped in the sanctity of Christianity as Shylock is in Judaism. Here, it would seem, the dramatist could have drawn the obvious conclusion that, regardless of our religious beliefs, we are all creatures of the same God, and that it ill-behooves any of us to sneer at the rest of us. But no! Shylock, even in his renouncing of vengeance, does so not because vengeance is wrong but because a Jew cannot shed blood.

Thus, both Schwartz and Ervine, in attempting to present Jews more favorably in a play than does Shakespeare, actually do Jews a disservice. Ervine's representative Jew is an opportunist and a hypocrite. Schwartz' representative Jew is a bigot who thinks that there is no one quite like him. Shakespeare, who knew Jews for the simple reason that he knew human beings, draws not a type but an individual. The result is that the evils which both Christians and Jews perform are castigated, but Christianity and Judaism remain unscathed.

Twentieth century versions of the *Merchant* make it apparent that Shakespeare, by failing to take sides, does more justice to Jews than the presumed defenses of Ervine and Schwartz. After all, neither Ervine nor (most assuredly) Schwartz can write like Shakespeare;

for Shakespeare, the supreme creator of character, realized that each man must be judged on his own merits.

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[1]Ervine, St. John, *The Lady of Belmont.* Macmillan, New York, 1931 (first published in 1923).

Schwartz, Maurice, *Shylock and His Daughter* (English translation by Abraham Regelson). Yiddish Art Theatre, New York, 1947. The play is based on a Hebrew novel by Ari Ibn Zahav. *Jessica, My Daughter,* Julian Melzer's English translation of this novel, has just been published in New York by Crown Publishers.

[2]Ervine, St. John, *How to Write a Play.* George Allen and Unwin, London, 1928, pp. 42 and 92.

[3]For example, on page twelve Antonio says, among other things, ". . . I should lose a pound of flesh—flesh, mark you!—to be cut off by him nearest my heart . . . A pound of flesh! Nearest my heart! Here! This very spot! I'll show it to you! . . . Well, then, you shall not see it . . . that's ingratitude, Nerissa, gross ingratitude . . . but to fail his friend—and such a friend!—no, no, that's ingratitude!" At the beginning of the next page Antonio says, "Good evening, good evening!"

[4]Ariail, J. M., "In Defense of Bassanio," *SAB,* XVI (1941), 25-8.

[5]*The Observer* (London), Jan. 20, 1924, p. 4.

[6]That the Venetian Senate does pass anti-Jewish laws cannot be denied. Shylock says, "I am a citizen of Venice now, and not an alien Jew any more. I'm free to go and come as I please and wear what garments take my fancy" (p. 38).

[7]It can be shown that Shylock is considered representative by Ervine. From the quotations given above, it is evident that the anti-Semites in the play consider not his individuality but the fact that he is a Jew as his prime characteristic. Shylock himself speaks as if he were typical. Even Portia can say to this Venetian Senator, "You have no roots. Your race is shallow in its growth" (p. 94).

[8]Ervine, St. John, "The Realistic Test in Drama," *Yale Review,* XI (1922), 297.

[9]In fact, he makes a mistake as far as ceremony is concerned. Shylock, learning that his grandsons are named Lorenzo, Antonio, and Bassanio, says to Jessica, "Did you forget my name?" (p. 44). The orthodox Hebrew tradition forbids naming a child for a living person.

[10]Both Ervine and Ibn Zahav seem reluctant to admit that Shakespeare may have preferred to make the *Merchant* a romantic comedy rather than what today would be called a problem play.

SHYLOCK'S HUMOUR

By David H. Bishop

IT IS THE purpose of this discussion to state the view that the speech of Shylock in reply to the Duke (*The Merchant of Venice,* IV, i, 35-62),[1] before the entrance of Portia, reveals a higher level of seriousness than has been attributed to him by most commentators. I shall hold that a different interpretation from that generally accepted is better suited to Shylock's situation and character. An associated purpose, to be subjoined, will be to point out that Shakespeare's definition of the term *humour* is substantially equivalent to the definition Ben Jonson elaborated, several years later than Shakespeare's, in a striking passage in the "Induction" to *Every Man Out of his Humour.*

The Duke has appealed to Shylock's "mercy" and "remorse" (pity), to his "human gentleness and love"; and, as Shylock tells us, the Duke had asked why he would

> rather choose to have
> A weight of carrion flesh than to receive
> Three thousand ducats. (40-42)

Shylock replies, "I'll not answer that; But say it is my humour." He then adds instances of the singular humours of men that lead to unaccountable actions. The instances are simple, even trifling as incidents; but they serve to show inexplicable actions that are illustrations of humours such as his own intended action may seem. "Some men," Shylock says, "love not a gaping pig"; others "are mad if they behold a cat"; and others "when the bagpipe sings i' th' nose, Cannot contain their urine." He continues, "As there is no firm reason to be rend'red" why men are controlled by such affections,

> So can I give no reason, nor I will not,
> More than a lodg'd hate, and a certain loathing
> I bear Antonio, that I follow thus
> A losing suit against him. Are you answer'd?
> (59-62)

Shylock has made the point that "mercy," "remorse," "human gentleness," are beside the question; nor is his bitter hatred of Antonio, frankly admitted in strongest terms, essentially relevant. The sum of the whole matter, as he is to say a few minutes later, is that

> The pound of flesh which I demand of him
> Is dearly bought; 'tis mine and I will have it.
> (99-100)

And because it is his humour, he will take it. He is sure he is legally entitled to the pound of flesh; in fact, it will presently appear that "the law allows it."

The key to Shylock's mind as he approaches the trial is to be found in the sense of the word *humour* as Shylock intends it to be understood. To settle on its meaning is to understand his attitude and action as the trial opens. The extensive use of the term in Elizabethan literature is a commonplace of knowledge to readers of the contemporary drama. There are two distinguishable uses of the word, each of historic standing. There is what we should regard as the primary sense derived directly from the mediæval conception of the four physiological humours, as fixed in psychology as in physiology and therefore indicating a fixation in character; there is the other, a secondary sense, expressing whim, caprice, crochet, and thereby tending towards an opposite meaning to the primary sense of the word. An examination of twelve editions of the play, in standard editions of Shakespeare's complete works or in college-texts edited by scholars of distinction, reveals that eight editors take note of the word. Without exception it is interpreted in the secondary sense as above defined.[2] With due respect for such an accumulation of opinions, it is insisted here that the essentially different meaning in the primary sense of humour is intended. It does appear that Shakespeare more frequently used *humour* as equivalent to the terms used by the editors in this instance; but there are clear instances of his employing the concept

of humour as a fixed and mastering factor in character, predetermined by birth or nature.[3]

In the passage here considered it appears that Shylock has himself defined his meaning by the explaining assertion

> for affection
> Master of passion, sways it to the mood
> Of what it likes or loathes.[4] (50-52)

It seems clear that *affection,* with its attributive phrase *master of passion,* is used as a synonym of *humour,* apparently felt as a stronger word that re-enforces the sense of the antecedent term. The definitions of *affection* by the commentators, as it occurs in this context, hardly seem adequate. It is defined as "sympathy," "natural instinct," "feeling, one's likes and dislikes," "an impulse of any kind," "emotion produced through the senses by external objects," "mental state or inclination," "whim." There seems a degree of tautology occasioned by supplying such terms—the iteration of the subject in the predicate; and the force of the attributive phrase is lost. It seems rather pale comment by Shylock if we understand him to say that *sympathy* or *feeling* or *inclination,* and so like, "sways it [passion] to the mood Of what it likes or loathes." *Affection,* let us say then, is not in the category of the words offered as its equivalents. To understand the force of the word, as Shylock uses it, we must press beyond the area in which such emotions lie. I conceive of it here as expressing an originating power that assumes the nature of a faculty of the mind that may contend against and annul reason. Shylock would tell the Duke that the power which controls his conduct is a basic element in character for which no explanation need be, or can be, offered.

Among the senses of *affection,* or *affections,* found in Elizabethan English (more varied than in later periods) there are illustrations in Shakespeare of a usage, now obsolete, that definitely expresses the sense and force that is applicable to Shylock's use here. Malcolm (when he is misleading Macduff to test him) says "there grows in my most ill-composed affection such A stanchless avarice that, were I King, I should cut off the nobles for their lands" (*Macbeth,* IV, iii, 77-80). Antony: "My sword, made weak by my affection, would Obey it on all cause" (*A and C,* III, xi, 67, 68). Brutus: "to speak

truth of Caesar, I have not known when his affections swayed More than his reason." (*JC*, II, i, 19-21).[5]

The view here given of Shylock's state of mind, based on one accepted sense of his word *humour*, illustrated by Shakespeare's use in other situations, and on Shylock's forceful explanation of his meaning, seems at least tenable. But it is further suggested now that the fairly opposite meanings of *humour* and of *affection* that have been accepted by the commentators are dramatically unsuited to Shylock's character and the situation in which he would place himself by the language attributed to him. On the stage, of course, Shylock is at the mercy of the actor, and his atrocious purpose may obliterate for the reader all regard for his force of character; but as Shakespeare gives him speech he stands above all other characters in the play in intellectual competence, not to say intellectual dignity—not forgetting Portia's lovely "quality of mercy" lines. In conflict with his antagonists he is not trivial; they are so; and even Antonio is inadequate and self-condemned in the scene that first brings the two together. It therefore appears inappropriate and dramatically a weakening of the situation to conceive that Shylock is needlessly impudent and offensive, as he would be if he asserted that it is his whim to have his pound of flesh. "I stand here for law" is his reply to Gratiano's vehement denunciation. The gravity of his intention does not admit of understanding that he would to no purpose offend the Duke, whom he had addressed with dignity at the opening of his speech.[6]

The viciousness of Shylock's purpose is emphasized by the trivial illustrations he offers; and that, possibly, is one dramatic intention of the author. But these serve another more important purpose. Resting his case wholly on the legality of the bond, Shylock has driven home the point that you can not question the conduct of men who, controlled by their humours, act without free will or reason. This is his complete explanation. His sincerety may be questioned, but that question is not essential; the Duke, and an Elizabethan audience as well, will understand that his intention is unalterable. More probably the Elizabethan mind could accept Shylock's case as an illustration of the foreordained nature of Man's life.

Turning away from Shylock, but not away from the passage discussed or from Shakespeare, we find in the lines specially considered

a significance that should be of interest to students of the Elizabethan drama. If the conception of *affection,* synonymous with humour, as a mastering power in a person, is accepted, it will appear that Shakespeare has preceded by several years Ben Jonson's definition of "humour" in the five classic lines spoken by Asper in the "Induction" to *Every Man Out of His Humour* (105-109). Asper's speech may be recognized as an elaboration of the concept in the two lines of critical importance in Shylock's speech to which special attention has been directed. Asper has set forth in an extended passage the physiological conception of the four humours (88-102); he then continues to the main point:

> Now thus farre
> It may, by Metaphore, apply itself
> Unto the general disposition:
> As when some one peculiar qualitie
> Doth so possesse a man, that it doth draw
> All his *affects,* his spirits, and his powers,
> In their confluctions, all to run one way,
> This may be truly said to be a Humour.[7]
> (102-109)

The whole passage in which Jonson is explicating Humour extends over forty-eight lines (75-122); but in five lines, the climax of the whole, he has expressed, it seems, the concept with which we have dealt in Shylock's speech.

"A harmless necessary cat"

As a pendent to the consideration of Shylock's state of mind at the opening of the trial, the "harmless necessary cat" invites comment.

Interesting and rather extended comments are generally made on the "woollen bagpipe" and the "gaping pig"; but the "necessary cat" is passed by, except for citations from writers other than Shakespeare to similar instances of unreasonable aversion to cats. An exception to this disregard of the cat is found in the observations of H. L. Withers (Arden ed. 1905, p. 100)—not on the sense of the phrase but on a certain witchery found in it: "The phrase," comments Withers, "is one of those which, for some subtle reason, stick in

people's memory, and enter into language so fully as to be used constantly by folks who could not say where they come from."

Admitting the fascinating quality of the phrase, one is led into inquiry to discover a more interesting meaning than that which, seemingly, has been made of it. Ask a man in the street—a street of course frequented by readers and students of Shakespeare,—what does Shylock mean by *necessary*. One will answer for all: "The meaning is obvious; a cat is necessary to catch rats and mice." This leaves the "subtle" phrase rather flat; and the statement is incorrect. A cat is *useful* for catching rats and mice, not necessary for that purpose.

Considering the phrase in connection with Shylock's philosophy of the fixedness of things, underlying his entire speech, one arrives at a meaning that coördinates it with the other humours. The woollen bagpipe, a creation of man, is made as bagpipes are properly made; a gaping pig served at a feast is rightly what it appears, as shaped by nature and man; and a cat is a cat by nature, created to be a cat, of necessity a cat. A definition in N. E. D. among the given historic meanings of *necessary* supports this understanding. Two general senses, specialized into varying shades of application under each, are there distinguished: one contains the idea of *indispensable;* the other the idea of *inevitable*. Among the definitions in the latter group one seems exactly applicable to Shylock's use of the word: "Inevitably determined or fixed by predestination or the operation of natural laws; happening or existing by an inherent necessity." If one dares say so, the language thus takes on a Shakespearean quality illustrative of the writer's power to compress into a word a concept that might have filled a sentence.

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[1]Citations throughout refer to W. A. Neilson and C. J. Hill's ed., *The Complete Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare,* 1942.

[2]Cf. F. E. Schelling (1903), "whim"; Hardin Craig (1931), "whim, caprice,"; Tucker Brooke (1935), " 'it is merely my humour' "; T. M. Parrott (1938), "whim"; W. A. Neilson and C. J. Hill (1942), "whim"; G. L. Kittredge (1945), "whim, caprice"; the *New Hudson* ed. (ed. and rev. by E. C. Black and A. J. George, 1906) does not accept Shylock's statement as a declaration, but as a hypothetical question; H. L. Withers (Arden ed., 1905), "The word contains a reference to the strange physiological theories of the Middle Ages." (We remain uncertain as to Wither's interpretation until we reach the word *affection* [below, 1. 50], a word to be considered presently.)

[3]Cassius refers to "that rash humour which my mother gave me" (*J C,* IV, iii, 120); the motivating idea of the *Taming of the Shrew* is Petruchio's intention "to curb her [Katherine's] mad and headstrong humour" (IV, I, 212; Petruchio transforms what is accepted as the intrinsic nature of the Shrew to the character of the docile wife.); Henry VI declares of York that an "ambitious humour Makes him oppose himself against his king" (*H VI (II),* V, i, 133-34). There are further instances where it is difficult to say whether the constant or whimsical sense of the word should be understood.

[4]The lines present textual difficulties; but this note will not proceed further than to recognize them. (The Furness *Variorum* ed. gives three pages to their consideration.) The primary texts (Q_1, Q_2, and F_1) print identical lines (50-52), with only slightest variation:

> Cannot containe their urine for affection.
> Masters (Maisters, Q_2) of passion swayes it to the moode
> Of what it likes or loathes:

The critical matter is one of punctuation. There is now general agreement that the period after *affection* should be replaced by a comma, that a colon or semicolon should be inserted after *urine* and a comma inserted after *passion.* The plural form *Masters* illustrates not unusual instances of the incorrect occurrence of a final *s* added to singular nouns in early Shakespeare texts.

It seems in place to mention only one difficulty that faces us, in our discussion, if we accept the early texts without emendation. If the period after *affection* were retained, the emphasis given that word as a synonym of *humour* in the argument now following would be brought into question, since the reference would then apply only to the bagpipe aversion.

[5]For further illustrations, cf. *L L L,* I, i, 152; *W T,* IV, iv, 491, and V, ii, 40; *M for M,* II, iv, 168.

The *N. E. D.* defines as an obsolete meaning: "feeling as opposed to reason," with illustrations from Spenser, *Faerie Queen,* II, iv, 34: "Most wretched man, that to Affections does the bridle lend"; Milton, "*Soveraigne* Salve 25, 'A will overruled by enormous affections or passions.' "

The meaning of the word in these illustrations suggests that Shakespeare has a feeling for one exact sense in its Latin origin from *adfectio,* as in Cicero, *Tusculanae*: *Virtus est adfectio animi constans conveniensque.*

[6]Without too much emphasis on the idea (in a romantic comedy that, as it is, is threatened with disunity), Shakespeare has suggested a philosophy of stoical fatalism in Shylock, that is revealed again finally in his calm submission as he leaves the stage.

[7]*affects*: compare Shylock's *affection.* It is interesting to note, and to the point in connection with illustrations of conventional definitions of Shylock's Humour, that Asper continues from the lines quoted to express a satiric contempt for the misuse of the word as applied to fads or whims (110-114).

A NOTE ON DANIEL

By Johnstone Parr

THE paper of Mr. Cyrus H. Gordon entitled "A Daniel Come to Judgment,"[1] concerning itself with Shylock's well known allusion to Daniel in *The Merchant of Venice* (IV. i.), has evoked much comment concerning the identity of the Daniel to whom Shakespeare referred.[2] Mr. Hannigan insists that Shylock had in mind the Daniel of the canonical *Book of Daniel* rather than of the apocryphal *History of Susanna and the Elders.* Mr. Withington, in turn, insists (along with almost all editors of the play) that the reference is to the Daniel in the apocryphal *History of Susanna.* As an addendum to Mr. Withington's principal argument (that the story of Daniel, Susanna, and the Elders must have been a well known one to Shakespeare's audiences), I wish to point out a fact that seems to have escaped all those interested in the topic. Mr. Withington suggests that the Elizabethan audience had been long familiar with the story of Susanna in art—that it had been a popular subject or theme with Renaissance painters. I wish to cite two instances of the story in Elizabethan *print*—that is, in purely literary expositions rather than in the account found in such editions of the apocryphal writings as were disseminated.

In 1578 Hugh Jackson issued from his shop in Fleetstreet a booklet entitled *The Commody of the moste vertuous and Godlye Susanna,* which he ascribed as being "compiled" by one Thomas Garter.[3] *The Commody* is a 43-page play, the substance of which is the story of the virtuous Susanna and the iniquitious Elders as set forth in the *Apocrypha.* Six years later, in 1584, the story appeared in print again, in the form of a didactic short-story by Robert Greene,

who entitled his 40-page pamphlet *The Myrrour of Modestie* and rendered the story "more largelie then it is written among the Apopcripha" by padding the simple narrative of the Apocryphal account with an abundance of the then-popular Euphuistic trappings.[4] Certainly by the time Shakespeare wrote *The Merchant of Venice* the apocryphal story had been bandied about enough for an Elizabethan audience to appreciate his allusion, whether especially appropriate in the mouth of Shylock or not.

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[1]*SAB,* XV (October, 1940), 206-209.

[2]See John E. Hannigan, "Which Daniel," *SAB,* XVI (1941), 63-64; Robert Withington, "A Second Daniel," *ibid.,* 123-124; Hannigan, *ibid.,* 190-192; Withington, *ibid.,* 256.

[3]Reprinted in *Malone Society Reprints* in 1936.

[4]I cite from the Huntington Library copy.

PRODUCTIONS OF *THE MERCHANT OF VENICE*

By Arthur Heine and Laurie Schwab Strauss

FOLLOWING is a summary of professional productions of *The Merchant of Venice* in the United States and England during the last eighteen years. It will be noticed that, while productions have been comparatively frequent in London in the last few years, they have been extremely limited in number in the U. S. This may be explained in large measure by the current feeling that the play tends to fan the flame of anti-Semitism, whether or not such was the intent of the playwright. (The play was banned from the Odense Theatre in Copenhagen for such reasons in 1938.)

1930—Times Square Theatre, New York—Maurice Moscovitch as Shylock, Selena Royle as Portia.

(This production went on tour, appearing also at the Tremont Theatre in Boston with the same cast.)

Columbia Theatre, San Francisco—William Thornton as Shylock.

Ambassador Theatre, New York—Fritz Leiber as Shylock.

(This production of the Chicago Civil Shakespeare Society went on tour, appearing in Chicago and Poli's Theatre, Washington, D. C.)

Embassy Theatre, London.

(In this year the play was also produced in Teheran Persia.)

1931—Royale Theatre, New York—Fritz Leiber as Shylock, Helen Menken as Portia.

(This was again a production of the Chicago Shakespeare Soc.)

Ohio Theatre, Cleveland—Otis Skinner as Shylock, Maud Adams as Portia.

(This was Maud Adams' return to the stage after years of absence. She took the play on tour, coming to San Francisco, Buffalo, Newark, N. J., Chicago and many other places.)

Trouper's Green Room, Hollywood, Cal.

1932—Old Vic, London—John Gielgud directing Malcolm Keen as Shylock, Peggy Ashcroft as Portia.

St. James Theatre, London—Ernest Milton as Shylock, Mary Newcomb as Portia.

Shakespeare Theatre Company, New York—Ian Maclaren as Shylock, Carolyn Farriday as Portia.

Shakespeare Festival, Stratford-on-Avon.

1934—Alhambra Theatre, London — Franklin Dyall as Shylock, Marie Ney as Portia.

(In 1934 M. Reinhardt presented *The Merchant of Venice* in Venice.)

1935—Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith—Arthur Phillips as Shylock. Croydon Repertory Theatre.

1937—Federal Theatre presented the play with Estelle Winwood as Portia, Gareth Hughes as Shylock—Mason Theatre and Greek Open Air Theatre in Los Angeles.

Hollywood Playhouse, Hollywood.

1938—Queen's Theatre, London—John Gielgud as Shylock, Peggy Ashcroft as Portia.

Erlanger Theatre, Chicago—Helen Hayes as Portia, Abraham Sofaer as Shylock.

(Plans were made to bring this production to N. Y., but were apparently dropped. The run in Chicago was scheduled for only three performances. Helen Hayes brought it also to San Francisco, and Southern Cal.)

Dublin Gate Theatre, Dublin.

1940—Kingsway Theatre, London — Donald Wolfit as Shylock, Rosalind Fuller as Portia.

1941—Pasadena Playhouse, Pasadena — (presented followed by *The Lady of Belmont* by St. John Ervine.)

1942—Westminster Theatre, London—Robert Atkins as Shylock, Adele Dixon as Portia.

1943—New Theatre, London.

Pasadena Playhouse—John Carradine, under the sponsorship of the Playhouse, gave a Shakespearean repertory including this play in San Francisco and Southern California.

1944—Shakespeare Festival, Stratford-on-Avon.

1946—Yiddish version presented in London.

1947—Century Theatre, New York—Donald Wolfit as Shylock, Rosalind Iden as Portia.

(Presented as a part of Wolfit's Shakespeare repertory.)

1948—Shakespeare Festival, Stratford-on-Avon—Robert Helpmann as Shylock.

THE SHAKESPEARE MEMORIAL THEATRE

Directed by *SIR BARRY JACKSON* *for the Governors*

Manager and Licensee : GEORGE A. HUME

The Merchant of Venice

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

Characters in order of their appearance :

ANTONIO, *a Merchant of Venice* ... ... NOEL WILLMAN

SALARINO } *Friends to Antonio* { ... PAUL HARDWICK
SALANIO } *and Bassanio* { ... DOUGLAS WILMER

BASSANIO, *Friend to Antonio, in love with Portia* ... ... PAUL SCOFIELD

LORENZO } *Friends to* { ... ... JOHN JUSTIN
GRATIANO } *Bassanio* { ... ... ESMOND KNIGHT

PORTIA, *a rich Heiress* ... ... DIANA WYNYARD

NERISSA, *her Waiting Maid* ... ... MAIRHI RUSSELL

BALTHAZAR } *Servants to* { ... ... MICHAEL BATES
STEPHANO } *Portia* { ... ... WILLIAM SQUIRE

SHYLOCK, *a rich Jew* ... ... ROBERT HELPMANN

THE PRINCE OF MOROCCO ... ... MICHAEL GODFREY

LAUNCELOT GOBBO, *Servant to Shylock* ... ALFIE BASS

OLD GOBBO ... ... JULIAN AMYES

LEONARDO, *Servant to Bassanio* ... ... TOM KNEALE

JESSICA, *daughter to Shylock* ... ... HEATHER STANNARD

THE PRINCE OF ARRAGON ... ... JOHN KIDD

TUBAL, *a Jew, friend to Shylock* ... ... ARNOLD DIAMOND

THE DUKE OF VENICE ... ... WILLIAM MONK

Magnificoes, Masquers, Attendants : CLAIRE BLOOM, JEAN FOX, ELIZABETH MELVILLE, ALEXANDER DAVION, ALAN DIPPER, KEITH HERRINGTON, NORMAN MITCHELL, EDMUND PURDOM, JOHN VAN EYSSEN, CLIFFORD WILLIAMS, DAVID WROE.

PRODUCTION BY MICHAEL BENTHALL

THE SCENE IS SET PARTLY AT VENICE AND PARTLY AT BELMONT.

THE PLAY WILL BE GIVEN IN THREE PARTS WITH TWO INTERVALS OF TEN MINUTES EACH.

THE CURTAIN FALLS AT APPROXIMATELY 10.10 P.M.

Scenery and Costumes ... ... SOPHIE FEDOROVITCH
Incidental Music ... ... BRIAN EASDALE

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Music Adviser ... ... LESLIE BRIDGEWATER

Productions Manager ... ... H. NANCY BURMAN
Resident Stage Manager ... ... DESMOND HALL
Stage Managers ... ... JULIA WOOTTEN
ROBERT GASTON
Assistant Stage Managers ... ... ELIZABETH LATHAM
MOOREA HASTINGS
COLIN HUNTER
Costume Supervision ... ... KEGAN SMITH

The above is a facsimile of the playbill of the Shakespeare Memorial Theater, Stratford-on-Avon, where on the occasion of the Shakespeare Festival of 1948, Robert Helpmann appeared as Shylock and Diana Wynyard as Portia. Production was under Michael Benthall.

PATTERNS OF TEMPO IN SHAKESPEARE'S *TIMON*

By John W. Draper

PERHAPS the most of all Shakespeare's dramas, *Timon of Athens* bears the marks of a problem-play: it has the generalized setting that the demonstration of a thesis requires, an unhistoric Athens of here and everywhere; the plot is governed, less by the wills or feelings of the characters than by the demands of this thesis; the dialogue is full of pertinent comment, social and political; and most of the characters themselves are so much mere social types that many of them, such as the several "Senators," have not even individual names, but seem to be solely the personifications of economic or political tendencies. Timon himself, the only figure of really major stature, appears, not in his traditional role of the sour misanthrope, but as the victim of bad social forces that in time bring ruin to Athens. The disasters that overtake him represent the decay of the old feudal virtue of liberality—and feudalism, as seen in the Falstaff plays,[1] was indeed decadent in Elizabethan times. Timon's soldierly counterpart, moreover, the brave and choleric Alcibiades, reflects military virtue disregarded in a state where greedy usury dominates policy.[2] Timon himself seems to pass through three stages: a riotous generosity in which he consumes or gives away all his great fortune, a fury when he finds that his friends forsake him in need, and a vitriolic melancholy that finally makes him retreat to a cave and commit suicide. In the first of these, he is clearly sanguine, and, like the sanguine Duncan,[3] falls by his own gullibility; in the second, he is disillusioned, vengeful and choleric; and, in the third, this disillusion brings on melancholy to the verge of madness—a psychological evolution somewhat paralleled by Lear[5] and Coriolanus.[6] Lear certainly reflects his changing mental condition in the tempo of his speech;[7] and one might inquire whether Timon also does so, and, furthermore, what lyrical patterns the play presents, irrespective of plot and character.

By the computation of slurrings within and between words and by elisions and like evidence,[8] the tempo of Shakespeare's verse is approximately revealed, and reduced to ratios such as one slow to two fast, i.e. 1:2. As different types of character and different humors were thought to have their spceial types of speech,[9] and as certain situations generally induce excited speed or passive retardation, so tempo should have its roots in plot and character; and a study of these correlations should be significant. The tempo-average for the whole play of *Timon* is very fast, in fact 1:3+, unless (as one would hardly expect) the numerous prose passages, in which of course tempo cannot be computed, reduce this average. The first act runs at the rapid pace of 1:4—; the second is much slower; the third, a series of variable, short scenes; the fourth, fast; and the last on the whole moderate. Taken scene by scene, the play shows extreme variation: Act III, Scene i is 1:1; and Act III, Scene iii is 1:10½; but the three fastest scenes and the three slowest are very short, or at least have little verse. The rest all fall between 1:2— and 1:4—, retarding on the whole toward the conclusion of the play: in fact, the last scene falls to an average of 1:2—. The tempo of *Timon,* taken scene by scene, certainly presents a contrast to the slow-moving monotone of the plays of the first and second periods.

Like the chronicle histories, this problem play has many characters that appear too briefly to be individualized; but, even so, the tempo of some of them seems to have a *rationale.* The Poet and the Painter appear together in two scenes, one early and one late in the action; their professions should make them phlegmatic and therefore slow;[10] but their tempo does not bear this out: in the casual dialogue of Act I, Scene i, the Poet achieves the astonishing ratio of 1:15, and the Painter, 1:6; in Act V, Scene i, the former falls to 1:4, and the latter to 1:5. Their greater exuberance in the earlier scene perhaps accounts for their faster speed; for, in the latter, when they come to visit the embittered Timon at his cave, they are much less sure both of him and of themselves. The First Senator (if he is consistently the same individual in the several places where he appears) has in Act II, Scene i an average of 1:1½, in Act III, Scene v, an average of 1:2, in Act V, Scene i, 1:2+; in Act V. Scene ii, he speaks only two lines with an average of 0:2; and, in Act V, Scene iv, he returns to 1:1½: all of these averages are slow as the play goes; and this deliberation agrees with the Senator's age and the

dignity of his office. The Second Senator appears in three scenes. In Act III, Scene v and Act V, Scene i, he contrasts somewhat with his slower colleague, with an average of 1:3; and, in Act V, Scene iv, he falls to 1:2+. He is consistently the faster, but, even so, below the average of the play. Shakespeare's use of tempo in these minor figures, though it shows no great subtlety, is at least reasonable and consistent.

The sub-major roles of Alcibiades, Apemantus and Flavius yield some points of interest. The soldier Alcibiades in word and action shows every evidence of the choleric spirit appropriate to his calling; but the tempo of his verse averages only 1:1½, a strange anomaly in so fast a play. Perhaps his prose would increase this ratio; or perhaps Shakespeare is using sharp contrast, merely for its own theatrical sake, as he did in *Romeo and Juliet.*[11] Apemantus is the Thersites of the piece and, as such, speaks his stinging comment almost entirely in prose. In two scenes (I, ii and IV, iii), however, his part has enough verse for the computation of tempo; and both yield a ratio of 1:2—. His humor is certainly melancholy; and, at times, his speech gives evidence of a corresponding jerkiness in such combinations as "have't.Do not" and "enforcedly;thou'ldst" (IV, iii, 217 and 240). Both of these roles have too much prose for safe generalization; but that of Apemantus shows some correlation between character, humor and tempo.

Flavius, Timon's honest steward, tries vainly to stave off his master's bankruptcy, and then, like Adam in *As You Like It,* proposes to use his own "gold" to support the fallen Timon. His tempo shows great variation from scene to scene; but most of the more extreme ratios are based on too few lines to be significant. In Act II, Scene ii, he tells his master of the overwhelming debts and the impending foreclosures, and defends his own course with dignity. His ratio here is a sedate 1:2—, which rises to the greater speed of 1:7 when he assures his master of his honesty. In this dialogue, Timon speaks at the rate of 1:4—; and thus the two show a striking contrast in tempo—the alarmed Timon and the grave and sorrowful Flavius. In Act IV, Scene ii, the Steward in somewhat faster tempo takes a sad leave of his fellow-servants; and his soliloquy at the end of the scene on the misfortune of great riches, falls to a mere 1:1½. As a servant, Flavius should be mercurial; but his high character places him rather in the sanguine humor as "honest . . . just, true, bene-

volent, liberall, faithful"; and, though he is hardly fortune's minion, the "grave"[12] tempo of his speech seems to ally him with this lucky humor. When he visits the cave in the forest to which his master has retreated, and is shocked at his miserable condition "Full of decay and failing," his speed rises to 1:3+; but he cannot persuade Timon to accept help; and, at the end of the scene, they part. Despite this repulse, he returns to guide the two Senators to Timon's retreat; and the slow tempo of the eleven lines he speaks suggests his unwillingness in this "vain" errand. On the whole, his speech, be it fast or slow, seems fairly *legato,* and this would accord with the apparently sanguine humor of his personality.

Timon of Athens, like *Richard II,* is a sort of biographical drama in which the title role dominates the plot. Except for the episode of Alcibiades and the Senators, Timon's doings and reactions are the entire story; and he has an important speaking part in eight of the longest and most crucial scenes. His slowest, in which he insults his former flatterers by a feast of warm water, falls to 1:2+; and the fastest, his bitter soliloquy that immediately follows, rises to 1:5+. His part falls into three divisions: the first, apparently sanguine, includes the two initial acts, and runs 1:3— in Act I, Scene i, and 1:4+ in Scene ii, and 1:4— in Act II, Scene ii. Here he speaks in a flowing, colloquial measure, the even speed of which suggests his happy but thoughtless way of life. The fact that contrasting evidences for slow and fast rarely appear in close juxtaposition, further suggests the *legato* movement of the sanguine humor. The second step in Timon's psychological evolution appears most clearly in Act III, Scene iv: at line 78, he enters in a "rage," flinging bitter rhetorical questions at the company; and he achieves an even faster ratio of 1:4½. In the third division, this fury ebbs to a tense and settled melancholy, sometimes slower as at the mock-feast in Act III, Scene vi and in his final scene, and sometimes as fast as 1:5+, as in the soliloquy that comprises Act IV, Scene i. This third and last stage in Timon's character falls to an overwhelming melancholy, a most dangerous humoral state that might well lead to madness and to suicide. In these latter scenes, Timon's speech is generally *rubato,* as one might expect from his humor. His soliloquy that begins Act IV, Scene iii, for example, though it yields only eleven evidences of slow speed, places eight of them so near to opposite indications as to show rather clearly a very variable movement; and his later lines in the scene supply such rhythmic contrasts as "th'abhorèd" and "never learn'd." The Timon

of the last two acts is unquestionably melancholy, and shows it in his tempo. In an article published in 1940, five years before the first study in the tempo of Shakespeare's verse, the present writer pointed out the evolution of Timon's character and humor from sanguine to choleric and so to melancholy; and now a computation of his tempo confirms these results, and shows that the rhythms of his speech reflect the appropriate changes at just these points in the drama.

The lyrical patterns of *Timon,* scene by scene, are difficult to trace, for many of the scenes are short or badly broken with prose; but a few passages seem worth the computation. The first 179 lines of Act I, Scene i, until Apemantus enters, are divided by Timon's entrance into two parts: in the first 97 lines, the Poet, the Painter and the Jeweller discuss their master's lavish bounty at a headlong speed that begins with 1:4½ for the first twenty-one lines, and in the last 44 has not a single evidence of retardation. Timon enters; and, in the fifteen lines that follow until the Old Athenian comes in, the tempo suddenly falls to 1:2; and the speeches that follow run down to 1:2/3. Lucilius and the Athenian take their leave; and Timon in a dialogue of 24 lines at 1:2+, accepts the offerings of the Painter, the Poet and the Jeweller. In short, the first 97 lines of the scene start very fast and continue even faster; the following 82 lines are much slower, especially in the middle when Timon grants the Old Athenian's request for a dowry. The concluding hundred odd lines of the scene are largely in prose; but two passages (lines 242-257 and 273-285) are verse, the former running at 1:12 and the latter at 1:9: if these two be characteristic of the rest, the last third of the scene is about as rapid as the first, and the scene as a whole presents the symmetrical pattern of the trough of a great wave—very fast, then slower and slower, then faster and very fast again.

Act II, Scene ii likewise falls into three parts: the first includes some fifty lines of verse with a short prose interpolation; the second, some seventy lines of prose; the third, the last 110 lines of the scene, including a short prose passage at line 186. The first of these sections begins with a slow soliloquy by Flavius; and, as other characters enter and go out, it grows faster and then slower, with an average altogether of 1:1½. The long prose dialogue that forms the second section seems to go fast—or at least so the ellipses and the abbreviation-marks shown in the text would seem to indicate. In the last sec-

tion, Timon learns from Flavius of his ruin: it starts very moderately at 1:1½ from line 123 to line 155, and then rises to 1:3-, then to 1:4 and finally to 1:9 from lines 212 to 233. In short, the scene starts with fifty lines on the whole slow, then has some seventy lines of seemingly rapid prose, and then some hundred and ten lines that increase in tempo progressively from 1:1½ to 1:9, in which Timon at last realizes that he faces disaster: in this last part, the tempo certainly expresses character and situation.

The 118 lines of Act III, Scene v, in which Alcibiades vainly pleads his friend's cause before the Senators, runs a rather even tenor when cut at speech-endings into four large segments; and none of these segments varies greatly from the scene's general average of 1:1½; but, divided into six smaller and more arbitrary units, it shows rising and falling waves of tempo that grow more extreme in contrast as the suitor's plea is denied and he in anger accuses the Senators of "dotage" and "usury." The first eighteen lines run about 1:1, lines 19-52 accelerate to 1:3—; lines 53-65 fall again to 1:½; lines 66-83 rise to 1:5+; lines 74-94 again fall to 7:0; and the last twenty-three lines rise to 1:4—. Thus Shakespeare heightens the emotional intensity of his scene by a greater and yet greater ebb and flow of speed; and Alcibiades' final "spleen and fury" appears not only in his words but in the violently changing rhythmic pattern of the lines. The part of this grave but tactless soldier, especially in this scene, seems surprisingly slow in tempo; but Shakespeare, with a sublety of art, seems to have substituted rhythmic contrast for mere speed to express deep-moving passion.

Act V, Scene i starts with thirty-eight lines of prose, and then follow almost two hundred of verse, in which Timon's former associates visit him at his cave, and the Senators beg him to return to Athens and save them from Alcibiades' revolt. Divided with the speech-endings at lines 64, 87, 113, 136, 166 and 188, the scene shows the following tempo-ratios in order: 1:7, 1:5—, 1:3½, 1:2+, 1:3+, and 1:1+. This is an almost perfectly consistent decline in speed. The faster passage from line 166 to 188 is Timon's caustic answer to the Senators, in which he declares: "Be Alcibiades your plague, you his . . ." In spite of this irregularity and in spite of three passages of several lines each without indication, the whole scene, from Timon's initial soliloquy to the Senators' final *"Exeunt"* goes at a more and

yet more deliberate pace. The playwright intended both the Senators and Timon to speak with a calm and bitter seriousness; and, in this problem-play, he wishes the audience to realize that their speeches express, not the exaggeration of hot blood, but the actual condition of affairs in the State. Even the most mordant criticism of society must at times take on the measured pace of sober exposition if the point of the criticism is to be made crystal-clear, and if the reader or spectator is to feel that the playwright speaks in deadly earnest.

The career of Timon as an illustration of Shakespeare's economic-political-social theme is the central action of this problem-play. The other characters are mere types to illustrate certain social groups; and, though Shakespeare makes their tempo passably self-consistent, he seems quite willing to sacrifice it as an expression of their humor: the Poet and the Painter speak too fast for their artistic mysteries; and he sacrifices even the choleric speed of the soldier Alcibiades in order to enforce the point of his exposition. As in *Richard II,* he seems to care only for the title role; and, in Timon, he re-shapes it into an illustration of his social theme, and lavishes his art to show the ruin of a great man in an evil society: the old feudal virtues and ideals, as the Falstaff plays had so realistically shown, showed the sere and yellow leaf; modern capitalism was re-placing the economy of the Middle Ages; and Shakespeare, in *Timon of Athens,* expresses his disapproval of this change not only in the words but in the very tempo of the lines.

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[1]See the present writer, "Sir John Falstaff," *RES.,* VIII, 414 *et seq.*
[2]See the present writer, "The Theme of *Timon of Athens,*" *MLR.,* XXIX, 20 *et seq.*
[3]See the present writer, "The 'Gracious Duncan,'" *MLR.,* XXXVI, 495 *et seq.*
[4]See the present writer, "The Psychology of Shakespeare's Timon," *MLR.,* XXXV, 521 *et seq.*
[5]See the present writer, "The Old Age of King Lear," *JEGP.,* XXXIX, 176 *et seq.*
[6]See the present writer, "Shakespeare's Coriolanus," *W. Va. Bull.,* 139, 22 *et seq.*
[7]See the present writer, "Patterns of Humor and Tenor in *King Lear,*" *Bull. Hist. Med.,* XXI, 390 *et seq.*
[8]See the present writer, "Speech-Tempo in Act I of *Othello,*" *W. Va. Bull.,* 1947, 49 *et seq.*
[9]See the present writer, "The Tempo of Richard II's Speech," *Stud. Neophil.,* XX, 88 *et seq.*
[10]C. Dariot, *Iudgement of the Starres,* London, 1598, sig. D 4r.
[11]See the present writer, "Contrast of Tempo in the Balcony Scene," *Sh. Bull.,* XXII, 130 *et seq.*
[12]Dariot, *op. cit.,* sigs. E 1v and D 2v.

THE SHAKESPEAREAN APOSTROPHE

By Warren Smith

THOUGH observations on the dramatist's employment of the soliloquy and aside abound, there has hardly been any discussion[1] of what might be considered as a third classification of Shakespearean monolog, the apostrophe. Yet there are actually more than 200 apostrophes in Shakespeare, at least one appearing in every play but three.[2] What seems to be general hesitation about treating a device so frequently used in the plays may come, in part, from some confusion about what an apostrophe really is. The soliloquy and aside, possibly because they depend largely on the stage picture at the time of delivery, seem somewhat easier to detect. The soliloquy, of course, requires that the actor giving it either be actually alone on stage or suppose that he is alone because the other actors present are hidden from his view.[3] The aside, if delivered to the audience, demands at least one other player on stage, obviously within earshot, who does not hear it; if given to another actor, of course, the aside then requires at least a third actor nearby who does not hear it. Considerable discussion has centered itself around whether particular Shakespearean soliloquies were originally delivered "introspectively" or in direct address to the audience.[4] The aside is given normally in direct address either to the audience or to another player.[5] But under what circumstances can the apostrophe be delivered? What types of apostrophe are to be found in Shakespeare's plays?

In Shakespeare an actor can deliver an apostrophe on a stage occupied or unoccupied by other actors. In either circumstance, however, he addresses his lines directly neither to other players on the stage with him nor to his audience. As a matter of fact, the one certain way to distinguish a Shakespearean apostrophe from either the ordinary soliloquy or aside is through its wording. Here there is no problem of direct address to either the audience or another player,

for all apostrophes are addressed either to inanimate objects, to the gods, or to persons supposed to be incapable of hearing them at the time.

For example, there are numerous apostrophes in the plays to abstractions, like the one given by Portia to "love," while with bated breath she watches Bassanio about to choose one of the three caskets in *The Merchant of Venice*:

> ". . . O love, be moderate; allay thy ecstasy;
> In measure rain thy joy; scant this excess!
> I feel too much thy blessing. Make it less
> For fear I surfeit!" (III, ii, 111-114)[6]

The actor playing the part of Portia could hardly have delivered this speech as direct address either to his audience or to Nerissa and Bassanio on stage with him. In the plays also are many apostrophes addressed to the gods, as in *Cymbeline* (III, vi, 87-89), where Imogen apostrophizes while Belarius and her incognito brothers whisper apart:

> ". . . Pardon me, gods!
> I'ld change my sex to be companion with them,
> Since Leonatus' false."

This, assuredly, is not meant to be a confidence given directly to the audience, but rather, a matter strictly between Imogen and the gods above her. Indeed it is interesting to speculate whether actors giving this kind of apostrophe may not have looked in the direction of the actual playhouse "heavens" during the delivery.

Another large group of apostrophes addresses characters of the play who at the time are off the stage entirely. Such, for instance, is the apostrophe delivered by the Countess in *All's Well That Ends Well* to the absent Bertram, immediately after she reads in his letter that he has flown the French King's court:

> *Countess* (alone on stage): "This is not well, rash and unbridled boy,
> To fly the favours of so good a king,
> To pluck his indignation on thy head
> By the misprizing of a maid too virtuous
> For the contempt of empire." (III, ii, 30-34)

Here, of course, the actor could readily have directed the whole speech to the letter he held in his hands. An interesting variety of apostrophe addressed to characters off the stage is that which is uttered to an actor who is in the process of making his exit. In *Richard II* the gardener hurls one such at the Queen immediately after her exit:

> "Poor Queen, so that thy state might be no worse,
> I would my skill were subject to thy curse! . . ." (III, iv, 102-103)

Where originally the player faced to deliver this kind of apostrophe might seem to be a problem indeed, but there is little reason to suppose that he could not have faced squarely his audience in front of him. Almost everyone has seen this sort of thing happen in real life. An example which recently came under my own notice occurred in a restaurant: the actors, a rather heavy-handed boss and an innocent but irate waitress. The dialogue ran as follows:

> Boss (to waitress): "Why do you have to loaf so much of the time? Get to work!" *Exit* (from the vicinity)
>
> Waitress (facing toward me): "I could work a whole lot better if you'd stay out of the way."

Though as she spoke these words the waitress looked squarely at me (her audience), they were directed, of course, to her employer. She was careful to soften her delivery enough to keep it well out of his earshot. The whole affair was entirely natural, and the stage business may well have been based on such familiar incidents.

Some apostrophes in Shakespeare, on the other hand, are given to actors who actually are on the stage. But in every case the object of the address is assumed to be incapable of hearing the words, either because he is 'dead', like Hotspur when he receives the apostrophe from Prince Hal in *1 Henry IV,* beginning:

> ". . . Fare thee well, great heart!
> Ill-weav'd ambition, how much art thou shrunk! . . ."[7]

or because he fakes death, like Falstaff who, while playing possum, gets an apostrophe[8] from the same prince, beginning:

> ". . . What, old acquaintance? Could not all this flesh
> Keep in a little life? Poor Jack, farewell! . . ."[9]

or because he is 'asleep', like both Richard and Richmond who doze in their respective tents in *Richard III* while eleven successive apostrophes are addressed to each of them in turn by the ghosts of Richard's victims.[10]

Many apostrophes in Shakespeare do not confine themselves to one particular addressee. In *Cymbeline,* for instance, Posthumus consumes a whole scene[11] with a speech which distributes his repentance impartially among a bloody handkerchief, "you married ones,"[12] Pisanio (who is off the stage at the time), the gods, Britain, Imogen (also off the stage), and the gods again. This apostrophe of Posthumus, to be sure, must be considered also a soliloquy, for during its delivery the actor stands alone on the stage.[13] But since such speeches can hardly be classified accurately as pure soliloquies and since numerous apostrophes in the plays are delivered by actors alone on the stage,[14] it would seem that for monologs of this type a new label should be coined, like "apostrophe-soliloquy," or "soliloquy-apostrophe."

The great majority of those apostrophes delivered with other actors on stage, as would be expected, are evidently heard by them. In fact, most apostrophes of this kind are so written as to include the others on stage in their wording. For example, when Richard II apostrophizes in this manner to the absent Bolingbroke:

> ". . . Proud Bolingbroke, I come
> To change blows with thee . . ." (*Richard II,* III, ii, 188-189)

it is evident that he is spokesman also for Carlisle, Aumerle, Salisbury, Scroop, and the others on stage with him. *Cymbeline* offers an instance, indeed, where the other players on stage join the apostrophizer in a kind of refrain:

Belarius: ". . . Hail, thou fair heaven!
We house i'th' rock, yet use thee not so hardly
As prouder livers do."

Guiderius: "Hail, heaven!"

Arviragus: "Hail, heaven!" (III, iii, 7-9)

On the other hand, a small but significant minority of Shakespearean apostrophes evidently go unheard by other actors on the stage who at the time are perfectly capable of hearing them.[15] These differ sharply from soliloquies, which are always overheard when other players are anywhere on the stage.[16] And though similar to asides in requiring other actors to be within earshot when delivered, the "unheard" apostrophe differs from the aside in that it is never addressed directly to the audience or to other actors. Of course the only way the reader can pick out unheard apostrophes is to relate their content to the situation taking place in the play at the moment of their delivery. For example, in *Antony and Cleopatra* when Enobarbus addresses Antony, who is off the stage:

". . . Sir, sir, thou art so leaky
That we must leave thee to thy sinking, for
Thy dearest quit thee." (III, xiii, 63-65)

we can be almost certain that Cleopatra, who is on stage, is not supposed to hear his words. We can also be sure that Pisanio's ejaculation in *Cymbeline* (III, v, 104-105) to the absent heroine:

". . . O Imogen,
Safe mayst thou wander, safe return again!"

is not intended to be noticed by Cloten, who is standing beside Pisanio reading a letter. And though possibly one or two of the other eighteen instances[17] of this kind of thing are not so clearly evident, there are enough definitely valid examples to warrant the conclusion that the unheard apostrophe was an accepted convention on Shakespeare's stage. Moreover, it is always wise to remember that how the players acted before their eyes must have saved the audience at the

Theatre, the Globe, or Blackfriars from having to examine the wording of each apostrophe through a microscope.

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[1]For one of the rare instances where the Shakespearean apostrophe is given any space at all, see Morris Arnold, *The Soliloquies of Shakespeare, a Study in Technic,* New York, 1911, pp. 79 and 136-137.

[2]*The Comedy of Errors, The Merry Wives of Windsor,* and *King Lear.*

[3]Of the 408 soliloquies I count in Shakespeare, fully 354 are delivered by a player who is completely alone on the stage at the time.

[4]See especially Darrell Figgis, *Shakespeare, a Study,* London, 1911, pp. 3-4 and 14-15; Harley Granville-Barker, *Prefaces to Shakespeare, First Series,* London, 1927, pp. 3-4, *Prefaces, Second Series,* 1930, pp. 25-27, and "Shakespeare's Dramatic Art" in Harley Granville-Barker and G. B. Harrison, eds., *A Companion to Shakespeare Studies,* New York, 1934, p. 9; Doris Fenton, *The Extra-Dramatic Moment in Elizabethan Plays,* University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930, *passim;* and S. L. Bethell, *Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition,* Duke University Press, 1944, pp. 99-105.

[5]Some 300 asides are given directly to the audience and about 400 are exchanged between actors.

[6]All quotations and line markings are taken from G. L. Kittredge, ed., *The Complete Works of Shakespeare,* Boston, 1936. The quotations have been carefully checked against the pre-1623 quarto and First Folio texts.

[7]The whole apostrophe to Hotspur is at V, iv, 87-101.

[8]Even in this instance, of course, the apostrophizer believes that his addressee is incapable of hearing his words.

[9]The whole apostrophe, a continuation of the one to Hotspur, is at V, iv, 102-110.

[10]V, iii, 119-177

[11]V, i, 1-33

[12]Granville-Barker (*Prefaces, Second Series,* p. 241) labels this phrase a soliloquy and wonders whether "you married ones" could have been "addressed plump to his audience." I prefer to think of it as an apostrophe addressed to everyone who is married, whether present in the audience or not.

[13]In general, Shakespeare's apostrophes are much shorter than his soliloquies, which is understandable considering that most apostrophes occur in the presence of other players who are capable of interrupting. The longest apostrophe, given by Timon (*Timon of Athens,* IV, i, entire scene), extends to forty-one lines. The shortest, delivered by Lucentio (*The Taming of the Shrew,* I, ii, 229), is of only three words. The normal length of the Shakespearean apostrophe, however, is from two to ten lines.

[14]Some 87 of the 216 apostrophes in Shakespeare's plays.

[15]Twenty of the 129 apostrophes that are given in the presence of other actors.

[16]In Shakespeare there are 54 soliloquies delivered with other players on the stage. All but one (given by Autolycus in *The Winter's Tale,* IV, iv, 606-631) are definitely overheard by the other characters.

[17]See *2 Henry VI* (III, i, 202-209 and III, ii, 136-148), *1 Henry VI* (V, i, 58-62 and V, iv, 60-61), *Richard III* (IV, iv, 15-16), *The Taming of the Shrew* (I, ii, 229), *Richard II* (III, iii, 140-141), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (III, i, 109-114), *The Merchant of Venice* (III, ii, 111-114, quoted above), *Troilus and Cressida* (I, ii, 84-85 and V, ii, 65), *Macbeth* (IV, i, 144 and IV, iii, 100), *Timon of Athens* (IV, iii, 464-475 and V, i, 53-56), and *Cymbeline* (III, vi, 76-79, III, vi, 87-89, quoted above, and IV, ii, 33-38).

QUARTERLY REVIEWS

Professor Hardin Craig's An Interpretation of Shakespeare*

BY WILLIAM T. HASTINGS

MOST writing about Shakespeare today falls into one of three categories: technical studies of restricted scope; general interpretations from a restricted "angle," such as political ideas, audience control, "psychology"; literary essays of an impressionistic character. The writer's assumed audience may be scholars or the general public, or sometimes both. With the tremendous mass of hypothesis (embodying some degree of truth) accumulated in the last three generations, the task of the critic who wishes to write a general and comprehensive book about Shakespeare—not an unreasonable aim in the day of Edward Dowden—has become well nigh insuperable.

Professor Craig, in the modest preface to his new volume, notes this fact in explanation of what "may give the impression of lack of system" in his work. His procedure, he points out, is to deal with each play in the fashion most appropriate to its special character and problems. Hence he treats briefly the "more familiar plays," giving chief attention, instead, to points of obscurity, to errors and misapprehensions. He takes his stand among the school of historical critics, and hence incorporates much information about Elizabethan life and ideas; but he aims also to stimulate appreciative response to the plays. He has "written into the book"—that is kept constantly in mind as matters for illustration or demonstration—the unity of Shakespeare and his conviction that contrary to the opinion often expressed Shakespeare "was a great original thinker." He adds that he

*The Dryden Press, New York, 1948, pp. x + 400.

has incorporated in the book, usually somewhat changed material from *The Enchanted Glass,* and from his other writings, principally, it may be noted, the excellent introductions to the plays in his edition published in 1931.

The special character of the book derives from the principles and the procedure outlined in the preface. He is writing, it would seem, primarily for students, or for those general readers who need guidance such as his long experience as a college teacher has shown to be desirable. Here is the method we all use, stressing what the student, (or reader) should notice or know, with brief exposition at appropriate points of recent discoveries, techniques, controversies: he discusses authorship in connection with *Henry VI* and *Henry VIII;* the assault on "romantic" criticism and the integrity of Shakespeare's ideology (order, divine right of Kings, etc.,) in connection with *Troilus and Cressida* and *Lear;* poetic justice in connection with *Othello.* In these discussions are revealed Professor Craig's candor and fairmindedness, his full acquaintance with the body of Shakespeare criticism, and his readiness to accept the findings of his fellow scholars. He usually keeps these topics subordinate to his principal aim—to convey to his readers the quality of the individual plays and to present them in their groupings and their evolution, as reflections of the age and of the artist. His last chapter, "Shakespeare as a Citizen of the World," (quite in place at the end of a college course,) begins with the familiar story of the changing critical estimates of Shakespeare from his own time to ours, speculates on what the judgment of the future will be, and adds an interesting personal summation of the poet's "enduring quality."

Viewed thus generally there is much to commend *An Interpretation of Shakespeare.* That in detail it too often comes short of one's expectations is largely due to the method employed. The synthesis of (hypothetical) lecture notes and the 1931 introductions, which seems frequently to provide the substance and form of an essay, is too often imperfect. Sometimes, as in the treatments of *Titus Andronicus, As You Like It,* and *Measure for Measure,* an idea or a fact is introduced twice; sometimes there is an effect of incoherence or disorder,

as in the essays on *King John, Henry IV, Henry V,* and *Timon of Athens,* or of anticlimax as in the essay on *The Winter's Tale.* Some of the plays are dismissed with a brevity not really justified on the ground stated in the preface—their familiarity—for example, *Two Gentlemen of Verona, Love's Labor's Lost, A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Merchant of Venice.* In some of the essays on the plays just enumerated there are excellent pieces of commentary: the praise of I Henry VI as drama, the interpretation of the characters of Falstaff and Hotspur, the remark that in the end of *Timon* the author is trying "to make the play assume the conventional form of tragedy." But as rounded essays they are disappointing.

Professor Craig is too much inclined to use the theory of revision to explain difficulties in a play, or to invoke a lost original Shakespearean draft. His discussions of controversial matters, where he finds them necessary, have to be so brief as not wholly to satisfy, and yet they tend to crowd out or make sketchy the general critical appraisal.

It is to be regretted that the author's plan did not call for a complete reshaping of his views on each play. Where he has done this, as for example in discussing most of the tragedies, the essays have coherence and climax, shooting straight at their mark. The evidence also seems to indicate that in a volume for general readers it is best to pass over general controversies, since the treatment is bound to be too extended for a "popular" interpretation and too brief for scientific demonstration of one's conclusion. Nevertheless the student will find many interesting observations and occasionally a provocative reformulation: that the appeal of *Hamlet,* for instance, is largely due to its being "the typical struggle of the race of men against earthly environment," and that it represents the hero's "progression toward both action and peace of mind"; or that, whereas "Hamlet represents the innermost life of all men, Lear [represents] man's life in its social relations."

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The Foreign Sources of Shakespeare's Works

BY EDWIN ELIOTT WILLOUGHBY

The Foreign Sources of Shakespeare's Works. An Annotated Bibliography of the Commentary Written on this Subject between 1904 and 1940, together with Lists of Certain Translations Available to Shakespeare. By Selma Guttman. New York, King's Crown Press, 1947. xxi, 168 p. $2.75.

DR. GUTTMAN in this, her Columbia dissertation, has continued H. R. D. Anders' summary of the scholarly opinion regarding Shakespeare's foreign sources contained in his *Shakespeare's Books* (1904). She has divided the material by literatures—Latin, Greek, French, Italian, Spanish and others—and subdivided it by the authors whose works, it has been argued, were Shakespeare's sources. Besides an introduction and a full index, her bibliography contains 571 entries. Each entry in the bibliography refers to a discussion of a foreign author as a presumed source of Shakespeare. A book, pamphlet or article by this method of presentation is often listed several times—under each foreign author with whom it deals.

In planning this bibliography Dr. Guttman has imposed certain limits: "Sources written in a foreign tongue by an English author" fall outside "the scope of this study" (p. xiv). "Source suggestions contained in the lives of Shakespeare and in editions of Shakespeare's works are not considered, because of their general dependence upon earlier tradition" (p. xiv). "Commentary [*sic*] on Shakespeare's knowledge of law, medicine, biology and the Bible are omitted" (p. xiv). "Rudolf Grossman's *Spanien und das elisabethanische Drama,* Hamburg, 1920, is not included, because of its unwieldy arrangement" (p. xv)—a strange reason for the omission of a book from a bibliography!

Some users of Dr. Guttman's bibliography will regret that she has been forced to omit the careful examination of Shakespeare's

sources found in J. Q. Adams' and E. K. Chambers' lives of the poet. Certainly the opinions of George Lyman Kittredge, even as briefly stated in his one-volume *Complete Works of Shakespeare* (c1934) as to whether Shakespeare used originals or translations of foreign sources (*cf.* p. 133-34, 433, 880, 925, 973, 1451-52) would have more weight with many readers than those of most of the authorities which she has cited. Her limits also exclude such material as Professor Hyder E. Rollins' masterly summing up of the sources of *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* in *The New Variorum Edition: The Poems* (1938, p. 390-405, 416-39).

Dr. Guttman, on the other hand, has included much material of doubtful value. Reference to Baconian authors and refutations of them, for example, abound in her pages.

Again, she has excluded the studies made since 1904 of Shakespeare's knowledge of law and similar subjects, some of which have been written by men learned in their professions whose opinions as to Shakespeare's foreign sources in their specialized fields would usually command respect. But she has made twelve references to a work in the same category as those which she has excluded—Captain William Jaggard's pamphlet, *Shakespeare once a Printer and Bookman* (1933), in which the aged Shakespearean bibliographer urged that Shakespeare worked as a proofreader for Richard Field and for William Jaggard, the printer of the First Folio. In arguing for this fantastic theory, Captain Jaggard ascribed to Shakespeare a knowledge of almost every book, including twelve by foreign authors listed by Dr. Guttman, issued from either press during the early years of his London career.

To conclude, Dr. Guttman has collected a considerable amount of material, accessibly arranged, into her bibliography. But the user of her bibliography will obtain the best results from it if he bears in mind its limitations arising from her plan of inclusion and exclusion of material.

Folger Shakespeare Library

SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

THE Shakespeare Association of America has lost one of its most devoted and loyal members in the death of Samuel Tannenbaum. With Professors A. H. Thorndike and Paul Kaufman and the writer, he was one of the founders of the Association, and an earnest worker and planner for its growth, a firm believer in its usefulness not only for the honoring and studying of William Shakespeare, but even more as a means of furthering a closer friendship amongst all English speaking peoples. For many years he was the scholarly editor of the *Shakespeare Association Bulletin,* and when the devastation of the recent world war interrupted scholarly pursuits in many ravaged countries, he gladly assumed the arduous task of compiling the annual Shakespeare Bibliography. The Association and all scholars owe him a debt of gratitude; those of us who knew him intimately feel for him not only gratitude but also respect and affection.

Dr. Tannenbaum was a distinguished medical practitioner, specializing successfully for many years in nervous disorders. He continued almost until the time of his death not only to follow his profession but also to pursue his scholarly researches in the field of literature. Only last November because of his illness he resigned as the editor of the *Bulletin* and aided generously our new editor, Professor Robert Smith, in making the transition.

The Association wishes to express its gratitude and esteem for Dr. Tannenbaum and to extend its sympathy to his widow and to his family.

JOHN H. H. LYON
Vice-President of the Shakespeare Association
of America.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

A Note on Sidney's Arcadia and A Midsummer Night's Dream

M. Michel Poirier in a recent article[1] calls attention to parallel treatments of a similar theme in Sidney's *Arcadia* and Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* and he offers the play as a "further and still more convincing proof that Shakespeare had read the *Arcadia* carefully."[2] Poirier thus establishes that the *Arcadia* may be listed among the sources of *MND,* just as it has been listed among those of *King Lear, Twelfth Night* and *As You Like It.*

I wish to offer the suggestion of a possible further use of the *Arcadia* in *MND* than M. Poirier has intimated. I believe that the Lysander-Hermia-Demetrius-Helena love tangle in Shakespeare's plot is strongly analogous to a similar tangle in *Arcadia,* and that Sidney's may well have furnished a suggestion for Shakespeare's. E. K. Chambers suggests no source for this element of Shakespeare's plot, although the sources for most of the other elements of the play have been long established.[3] The episode in Sidney to which I refer is the Philoclea-Zelmane-Basilius-Gynecia tangle.[4]

Hermia and Lysander love each other just as in the *Arcadia* Zelmane, a man disguised as a woman, loves Philoclea. Basilius loves Zelmane, thinking him a woman, just as Demetrius loves Hermia. In Shakespeare's play, Helena loves Demetrius who spurns her, just as in the *Arcadia,* Gynecia loves Zelmane who spurns her. Thus, in each case we have one pair of mutual lovers (Hermia-Lysander, Philoclea-Zelmane); a man pursuing a woman who does not love him (Basilius-Zelmane, Demetrius-Hermia); and a woman pursuing

a man who does not love her (Helena-Demetrius, Gynecia-Zelmane). Notice that in Sidney's mix-up, Zelmane, who because of his disguise can serve the function of both man and woman, in the latter two cases, serves the functions of both Hermia and Demetrius in Shakespeare. But the characteristics of the tangles in both cases remain the same.

Numerous differences between the two situations may, of course, be enumerated, but the similarities remain strikingly obvious. And, if we accept Poirier's thesis that the *Arcadia* was a partial source of the play, and we consider also that no other source for this element of the plot has ever been suggested, the matter becomes one that is worthy of serious consideration.

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[1]"Sidney's influence upon *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," *Studies in Philology*, XLIV (1947), 483-489.

[2]*Ibid.*, p. 484.

[3]*William Shakespeare, A Study of Facts and Problems*, Oxford, 1930, pp. 356-363.

[4]*The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Albert Feuillerat, Cambridge, 1912-26, I, 145 ff.

SUGGESTED SHAKESPEARE READINGS

Attention is called to the excellent Shakespeare essay on "The Nemesis of Pride" by Robert Hamilton in the June issue of *The Nineteenth Century and After;* to the essay on *Troilus and Cressida* by I. A. Richards in the current issue of the *Hudson Review* (vol. I, no. 3, 1948) and to the technical essays for specialists in *English Institute Essays*, 1947:

> (a) Professor Richards, discussing *Troilus and Cressida and Plato* expresses again what Lovejoy, Craig, Tillyard, and others have revealed as *The Great Chain of Being,* those Platonic congeries of thoughts which form a chief pattern in Elizabethan thinking. The famous speech of Ulysses on *order* and *degree* is again stressed and his aspect as "head of an In-

telligence Service." Professor Richards ventures a revaluation of the play (not exactly in Basic English): "its scenes are among the most summoning of Shakespeare's glances at life, . . . they have at least an affinity with and an elective power of reflecting Plato at his height; in particular that Troilus is as little a 'whining babbler' as Ulysses is a 'wooden doll,' [Jusserand's estimates] and in general that current interpretation misread the play as badly as the tag-quotation mistakes the famous line," viz. "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin." To understand Troilus's speech beginning: "But value dwells not in particular will," etc. "each sentence here, and every word (especially the small ones, the *as well,* the *of itself* and the *in*) deserves the fullest imaginative study"; Cressida, Professor Richards likes: "to make her very young—almost with her finger in her mouth still—a little actress through and through . . ." One wonders what Ulysses would have thought of this interpretation.

Professor Richards utters a warning, always timely, "against reading the views of our own day into Shakespeare." What he calls a "worse risk" is "supposing that the meanings we may rightly find in the work are to be limited by what we can conjecture to have been Shakespeare's intentions." This last declaration opens interpretation to the free ranging fancy of every aesthete and to the symbolic, philosophical, or imaginative patterns he may discover; a good example being G. Wilson Knight's various volumes: *The Wheel of Fire, The Imperial Theme,* etc.; also the Shakespeare essays to appear in the next *Annual* (1948) which were read at the Institute this fall.

This contention poses an issue likely to involve clashes between schools of interpretation; it may be called a challenge from the Greeks thrown into the Trojan camp of the Historical School, which assumes that by a close study of the language, text, Elizabethan stage, customs, etc., we can discover not only what Shakespeare really wrote but what his *"intention"* was for his theatre-goers and readers. Professor Draper's *The Hamlet of Shakespeare's Audience,* (1938), is a good example of this kind of study, and especially Professor Paul S. Conklin's

recent *A History of Hamlet Criticism,* Columbia University, 1947.

(b) Thus Professor Raymond Black, the competent editor of the new Variorum *Richard II,* assures us that only by a careful restudying and revaluation of the text can we discover Shakespeare's meaning and come closer and closer to his intention.

(c) Similarly in "Problems in the editing of Shakespeare: Text" by Professor M. A. Shaaber of the University of Pennsylvania, we find again a division of opinion on whether Shakespeare's punctuation is logical or dramatic or merely haphazard. Does it suggest the way in which a speech was intended to be uttered? This thesis, originally set forth by Sir Percy Simpson, in his essay "Shakesperian Punctuation," 1911, and sponsored with qualifications by R. B. McKerrow, was regarded as "not proven" by Raymond MacDonald Alden in "The Punctuation of Shakespeare's Printers," [*PMLA,* XXXIX (1924) 557-80]. It finds approval however, in Shaaber's essay, (p. 105).

(d) Professor Hereward T. Price discussing the thorny textual problems of "The First Quarto of Titus Andronicus," and going further into Shakespeare's spelling and pronunciation, flatly states: "Nobody can deny that Shakespeare went to a great deal of trouble in order to indicate the pronunciation he desired,—marking elisions and contractions and scorning etymology and tradition in order to pin down the word to its pronunciation. It is almost as if we heard his voice over our shoulders," (p. 164).

These three essays assure us that minute bibliographical research is anything but profitless labor; it brings us closer and closer to Shakespeare in his workshop. A timely warning to mere aesthetes and a challenge thrown into the Richards camp, is found in Professor Price's closing paragraph.

"Modern scholars like Kittredge, Neilson, and Dover Wilson are gradually revealing to us the beauty of Shakespeare's line. Not enough justice has been done to the aesthetic values of scholarship. Scholars are supposed to have souls as hard as shoe leather and to pay attention to matters like spell-

ing because poetry is beyond their reach. Actors sneer at us as if we were moles blindly working in the dark, and the aesthetic critics sniff when we come near them. And yet we few, we happy few, we band of brothers, are the only people who know how to read Shakespeare; to us alone is his rare and refreshing fruit really sweet and juicy. We are like Saul, the son of Kish, who went out to seek his father's asses and who found a kingdom. If the actors and aesthetes want to find that kingdom too, they had better join us, or they will never get there."

(e) Dr. Giles E. Dawson concludes the Shakespeare section of this volume with a learned discussion of "Copyright of plays in the Early Seventeenth Century." The system of copyright was far from efficient, but worked fairly well—:

"The Elizabethans simply were not very systematic. Their systems of law enforcement and finance, public and private, give ample proof of this. And the members of the Stationers' Company were undoubtedly well satisfied with a system of copyright which relied to a large degree upon common gossip, verbal agreements not recorded, and informal notes not preserved. Publishers thought they owned copyrights which they did not; they got into trouble over such mistakes and paid fines for them; they bickered and sued each other. But these difficulties were accepted philosophically as inescapable evidences of human imperfection. And through it all, literary property passed successfully from father to son and from husband to widow."

When new studies for scholars appear, it is good to recall provocative old ones for general readers, not always as fully remembered as they deserve. Among these are J. B. Smart's *Shakespeare-Truth and Tradition,* 1928, for those troubled by problems of authorship; Logan Persall Smith's *On Reading Shakespeare,* 1933, the comment of a sensitive mind on Shakespeare's masterpieces; and a penetrating vision of Shakespeare as thinker and poet by John Cowper Powys in his book of essays entitled *The Pleasures of Literature,* 1928; American edition entitled *Enjoyment of Literature.*

Shakespeare Club of Boston

Under the skillful management of John E. Hannigan, the Shakespeare Club of the Boston Bar Association has grown into a vigorous association of twenty members, according to *The Bar Bulletin* for October. The group resumed meetings on October 8, 1948.

Last year the Club read *Hamlet* progressively, and Professors Hannigan and Roy Davis of Boston University read papers. The club was entertained at one of its luncheons by John Carradine, movie star and Shakespearean actor of note; and on frequent occasions by Eliott Duvey, Director of the Tributary Theatre. The members attended Cornell's version of *Antony and Cleopatra* in a body and ended their season with a luncheon at which President Walter Powers demonstrated that Shakespeare is not entirely neglected at Daniel Webster's college on the Connecticut.

The Shakespeare Club of New York

Officers and trustees of the Shakespeare Club of New York for the 1948-1949 fiscal year will be: President, Mr. Arthur Heine; Vice-presidents, The Mesdames Mary T. Sharpe, Minnie Gammond, Beatrice Tukesbury, Mary Delaney, and Dr. Franklin Dunham; Secretary, Miss Olive Potter; Treasurer, Miss Marian McCarthy; Curators, Mrs. Rosamund Reinhardt and Miss Marian McCarthy. Mrs. Minnie Williams Gammond will be in charge of memorabilia.

The calendar for the New York Club includes: *Twelfth Night,* Dec. 14 and Jan. 4; *King John,* Feb. 1, Feb. 15, and Mar. 1; *Coriolanus,* Mar. 15, Mar. 29, and Apr. 5. Other portions of the program are as follows: Thursday, Jan. 6, Twelfth Night; Friday, April 22, Shakespeare and St. George Day with laying of wreath on statue in Central Park; Sunday, April 24, Annual Dinner; Friday, April 29, Annual Meeting. The Board of Trustees meetings will be held on Nov. 26, Jan. 28, and Feb. 25.